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Who Recognized Franco?

Jumping shamelessly onto the bandwagon, the United States has recognized Franco. That the bandwagon is crowded is true; nearly every country has recognized the Fascist regime in Spain. But the size of the company is a poor reason for joining it. Even if it is thought that eventually recognition was inevitable, it has surely come at as bad a time as possible, with Europe in a ferment—a war crisis perhaps imminent—and every action interpreted as a stroke either for or against the Fascist bloc.

The question must be raised once more. Who is running the State Department? Whoever he is, his policy conflicts with the tradition of the department, with the viewpoint of the present administration and with any humane ideals. We have heard, on good authority, that all the department's important members were against recognition at this time. Recognition was contrary to every public declaration of the President. It is our tradition, as expressed by the Stimson doctrine—and more recently exemplified in the case of Czecho-Slovakia—not to recognize *de facto* governments established by conquest. Franco's government rests on a foreign conquest of Spain. Moreover, President Roosevelt realizes the danger of Fascist penetration in South America and has made great efforts to counteract it. Recognition of Franco removes another barrier to the spread of Fascist doctrines in this hemisphere. It was not a big barrier, to be sure, but any guard against fascism has value. Recognition was our one bargaining point with which to insist that no reprisals be taken against the supporters of the Republic. Were any representations at all made to save the lives of the thousands who are being shot this week in Spain? Our only solution for this tragic mystery is that recognition of Franco by the United States was dictated by Mr. Chamberlain in London, and was effectuated through that loyal Catholic, Ambassador Kennedy. Mr. Roosevelt owes his bewildered and shocked supporters an explanation.

Murder Isn't News

Over the April Fool week-end the American newspapers were full of news. Chamberlain and Daladier were talking back to the dictators, the State Department was arranging the details of the recognition of Franco, Brenda Frazier was back in New York City and a young man in Chicago was eating phonograph records. There was so much good copy, in fact, that the editors seemed to have no room for dispatches that might have come from Madrid, Valencia or Alicante. It was the story of cold, selective murder. Even now we have only a few of the details, and they are of dubious authenticity. We know that Franco has a blacklist of 2,000,000 names of political enemies who are to be shot or imprisoned or exiled from Spain, in reprisal for the opposition they offered the Fascist conquest. We know that Jesús Hernandez, the Loyalist leader, has been shot. A cable from Paris on Friday, March 31, warned that 600 Spanish intellectuals, including Jacinto Benavente, the Nobel Prize dramatist, José Pla y Beltran, Juan Chapas and Gustavo

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Duran had been arrested and were facing certain death before the firing-squad. We know also that 400,000 Loyalist soldiers have been arrested and—those who are still alive—wait for their sentences. News of the massacre is just beginning to appear. Why, we wonder? Was the Fascist censorship airtight? Was the story dull? Or have we "invisible" censors of our own?

King Cotton Is a Beggar

If you want to know what is the matter with cotton today, you will have to go back at least to the decision of a Supreme Court that did not know much about economics and, with purely legalistic reasoning, invalidated the original crop control under the AAA. With no crop restriction, the farmers then grew a big surplus that has been hanging over the market ever since. International trade has been disturbed and foreign markets will not now absorb the cotton at a price that is high enough to validate government loans already paid on it. These loans were made to provide some relief when the court knocked the props out from under the restriction scheme. The Senate has just voted to bail out the growers by a huge new subsidy. It would allow them to buy back, at five cents a pound, cotton already pledged against loans made by the government at nine cents. This would, it is estimated, cost $225,000,000 this year. Another scheme, backed by the President, would subsidize exports at a much smaller cost. Meanwhile farm representatives from other crop regions are mobilizing to extract their share of government subsidies.

The farmers are poor because they grow too much; the city people are too poor to buy all that the farmers grow; Congress votes to compensate the poor farmers at the expense of the city people, while for the sake of economy it cuts relief and plans to starve hundreds of thousands who already haven't enough money to buy what the farmers grow. And meanwhile we plan to defend democracy by battleships and airplanes.

To Save Strikers' Blood

In Washington, Senator Robert E. La Follette's bill-drafting experts are framing a law on the basis of the thousands of pages of testimony the Civil Liberties Committee has amassed in two and one-half years of study. When it is done, and if it is passed, the law will attempt to prevent labor violence by strict control of industrial police, professional strikebreakers and the sales of tear gas and machine guns. The power of the federal government to control interstate commerce is the legal basis for the proposed legislation. Judging from the conclusions of the various reports the La Follette committee has published, the bill will forbid the employer to engage agencies or individuals who will indulge in the familiar practices of the notorious strike-breaking business, but at the same time it will not interfere with the employer's right to employ watchmen or patrolmen to guard his premises. It will also prohibit the employment, as armed guards, of people with previous criminal records or with a demonstrable tendency toward violent, dangerous use of deadly weapons. All private citizens who are likely to be involved in industrial disputes will be prohibited from possessing weapons, such as machine and sub-machine guns, and tear gas—weapons of such power that their possession should be confined to responsible public authority. It is nearly impossible to tell whether or not pistols or rifles are possessed with legitimate purposes in mind. It is doubtful, therefore, that the La Follette bill can make any attempt to regulate their ownership. When the act has been drafted it will be introduced into the Senate. Because the subject is so closely involved in the larger question of possible revision of the Wagner act, political experts believe that the bill cannot pass during this session. We hope they are wrong. This is a mandatory legislative job.

Pound Foolish, Penny Wise

A Congress that is dominated by conservatives who say they believe in reducing government spending is increasing appropriations in every direction, even above the budget estimates. More money for the army, more for the navy, more for the farmers. More for everything—except the unemployed on the WPA, who, it now seems, will have $50,000,000 less to subsist on than the inadequate amount asked by the President.

Making Railroad Bankruptcy Easier

The Chandler bill, now before the House and reported to have an excellent chance of passing, relaxes too many safeguards in railroad reorganization. If the bill becomes law, railroad managements will be able to readjust their indebtedness and interest payments by private negotiation with their security holders. With the consent of holders of two-thirds of the total of affected securities and 51 percent of each issue, the managements can default and yet remain in undisputed control of the property. With the consent of three-quarters of the total and three-fifths of each issue the reorganization cannot even be legally assailed. All the customary safeguards of bankruptcy are abolished: the custody of the property by the court, the right to investigate to ascertain if there has been fraud or mismanagement, the right of the court to control expenditures. In such circumstances the consent of the security holders means little. Insurance companies, management and organized speculators hold the only sizable blocks of each issue. If these three are satisfied with the scheme, the scattered holders can easily be brought into line. Granted that railroad-bankruptcy procedure has many faults, there is still no reason to abandon it altogether and permit private managements to reorganize in a way that can so easily become a conspiracy between

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Our Ally, the Mikado

The United States is selling a fat bill of goods to Japan. The United States Department of Commerce figures for the six-month period from August, 1938, through January, 1939, show substantial increases in our exports to Japan of airplanes and airplane parts, scrap iron and steel, raw cotton and petroleum—just the raw materials the Japanese government needs to keep its fighting machine going. In all, we have sent $99,000,000 worth of specific war goods to Japan during these past six months. We sold $4,696,000 worth of airplanes and parts, $10,500,000 worth of scrap iron and steel and $98,744,000 worth of other miscellaneous items, including about $20,000,000 of petroleum in its various forms. It is a disgraceful record. Almost from the outset of the Japanese invasion of China the administration has declared its sympathies to be on the side of China; yet, as we have repeatedly pointed out, the President has refused to apply the neutrality law. Now the Department of Commerce has put the facts before the public: we have been helping Japan to a far greater extent than if we had declared ourselves "neutral." We repeat ourselves: the Neutrality Act should be invoked immediately. The nations which produce petroleum should agree among themselves to send no more of it to the Japanese war machine. The United States government should prevent the further export of scrap iron and steel. If there is anything to the brave words of the democracies, this is one way it can be proved.

The Confident Nazis

Hitler's successive conquests have surely strengthened his position at home as much as they have abroad. We are being warned vigorously by correspondents that the wishful predictions—current for six years—of a sudden end of the Nazis are as far as ever from being true. It is easy to agree that if the German people have stood all this there is no reason why they should not stand a little more of the same thing just a little longer. In fact, Hitler seems to be firmly seated in the saddle.

Our opinion, we are puzzled to find, is scarcely borne out by the actions of the Nazis themselves. Hitler spoke April 1 at Wilhelmshaven from behind a bulletproof glass screen. The Nazis were so afraid that the German people might hear what he was saying that the speech wasn't broadcast in Germany. Only several hours later was a recorded version released to his millions of worshipers. A broadcast scheduled for the United States was cut off because it was feared Germans might pick up the transatlantic shortwave transmission. But of course there are official explanations for these things. The screen was just there to protect the Führer from the wind. Against those Nordic Aryan winds we suppose you've got to have bulletproof glass. The other things can be explained too. As we were saying, Hitler

They Are Helping

Private citizens in France, Great Britain and the United States, shocked by their governments' apathy and the desperate plight of the people Franco is driving from Spain, are doing what they can. Primarily it is to raise money—money to release Spanish refugees from French concentration camps and to provide them with food, shelter and warm clothing; money to increase the slim chances of Republicans trapped in Spain to escape the firing-squads. In New York City, Spanish Intellectual Aid, a committee made up of artists, writers, doctors, scientists, musicians and actors, is working to raise $10,000 to provide some sort of a refuge in France for their Spanish colleagues. They need all the money you can spare—and, probably, a great deal more than that. Checks should be mailed to Spanish Intellectual Aid, Room 1114, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City. Theirs is, of course, an appeal for a special group. Several committees (mentioned in the editorial, "Was Spain Worth Fighting For?" elsewhere in these pages) are appealing for other, broader groups. If the collective Spanish intelligence is to be preserved, however, we must save the lives of the men and women who are carrying it on.

News Notes of a Week

Belgium's elections brought big gains for the Liberal and Catholic Parties, and a vote for Belgium and against Germany in the frontier provinces. Leon Degrelle's Rexist Party lost heavily and the Socialists suffered slightly. . . . Ten thousand German S. S. Guards were reported to have been sent to the Italian colony of Libya. . . . The Argentinian government arrested several Germans, including the "Little Führer," Alfredo Müller. A Buenos Aires newspaper had published a secret document showing that one of the main objectives of Nazi penetration is to annex Patagonia.

Damages of $237,310.85 were assessed against Branch I of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, CIO, by a federal district-court jury. The damages were awarded the Apex Hosiery Company of Philadelphia as a result of the seven-week sitdown strike in 1937. Judge William H. Kirkpatrick ordered the verdict entered for triple that amount under the punitive provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Council for the union said they would ask that the judgment be set aside on points of law and, if that were not done, they would appeal. . . . Although Fritz Kuhn has said his German-American Bund has 200,000 members—and at another time brought it down to 8,000—the report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation indicates there are about 6,600 members. . . . Certain students in Eastern colleges were competing to see who could swallow the most live goldfish. Only yesterday people had been saying that college students had settled down to no

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Chamberlain on Trial

CHAMBERLAIN'S apparent reversal of position in opposing Hitler has gone much further than at the beginning we expected it would, and Daladier seems to have taken a firm stand in relation to Mussolini. For the moment, the results have been salutary; it looks as if the threatened offensives against Poland and in the Mediterranean had been stopped in their tracks, and as if European peace were safer than it had been for months. Yet the full position of Chamberlain and Daladier has yet to be developed, and we are not justified in hoping for too much from the latest turn of events.

Chamberlain in the House of Commons made a verbal assurance, to continue only until a more formal understanding was worked out, that if Poland were attacked by Germany in a manner that seemed to threaten her independence, and if she resisted by force of arms, Great Britain and France would come to her aid with all their power. This was a conditional statement, various interpretations of which were possible. In the first place, it was only temporary, and the agreement which was to supplant it might conceivably be less strong and explicit. In the second place, an early impression was that it excluded Danzig, which is not Polish territory but a technically "free city" under the League of Nations, and is politically controlled by Nazis. German annexation of Danzig or even of the Corridor leading to it from Poland might be regarded, by the British at least, as not threatening Polish independence. This interpretation was actually made by The London Times, but was promptly denied by the Foreign Office. It would have amounted to an invitation to Hitler to go ahead with his encirclement of Poland, robbing her of her only port.

The declaration also leaves the door open to negotiation between Berlin and Warsaw; if Poland does not want to fight Nazi aggression, there is nothing in the statement to bind her to resist. This looks like a reasonable precaution on the part of all concerned; it prevents Hitler from saying with any credibility that Poland is tying herself to the chariot of British imperialism. Yet when one remembers both the shiftiness of Polish policy and the apparently firm bonds between France and Czecho-Slovakia before Munich, one wonders whether it does not offer a future loophole to Hitler.

Even before this action in London, Daladier had publicly replied to Il Duce's speech demanding concessions in the Mediterranean. It was a firm reply, declining to be bluffed or scared. If Mussolini wanted anything legitimate and specific, he could open negotiations for it in the customary way, but at present there was no concrete proposal to discuss. This deflated the war-scare method of trying for concession in crisis, but not satisfy Il Duce, who does not want a final agreement on minor questions, but an entering wedge to a continued program of expansion. He blustered, said Italy could wait, and retired to his tent to sulk. Hitler, in retorting to Chamberlain, likewise used the tone of insult and defiance, but did not threaten anything specific. Since the double rebuff, neither dictator has moved an inch in terms of action.

Two diverging lines seem possible in the future for the Paris-London entente, and it is unwise to entertain too much encouragement until we see which is taken. One is to implement the present understanding with Poland by a firm agreement, and to include in it Rumania, Lithuania and other European states open to attack. Such an agreement, if it were believed sincere, would probably be underwritten by the Soviet Union. Then for the first time Europe would be attempting an unequivocal policy of collective security. This policy would of course be a risky one; it would lead certainly to a general war if the Rome-Berlin-Madrid axis challenged it by force of arms. But in view of their inferiority in military resources and naval power, the Fascist dictators could not win in such a war if it continued for long, and that might restrain them. We are inclined to believe it would. The other course would be hesitation, watering down and ultimate reversal of the courageous line which now, almost too late, seems to have been taken. This would lead to more appeasement and ultimate surrender at a second Munich, with a war in prospect which the anti-Hitler powers would be far less certain of winning.

There are signs of advance in both directions. On the one hand, France has made a favorable trade treaty with Rumania, and Britain is negotiating one. There seems to be a steady rapprochement between London and Moscow, and Britain is not, so far, hanging back for Soviet Russia to take the lead. On the other hand, Chamberlain is reported to have asked Mussolini to intervene with Hitler in order to restrain him from rashness in his Wilhelmshaven speech; apparently the effort to appease Il Duce is not dead. And neither of the "democracies" is taking any steps to retrieve the debacle they have brought about in Spain, which has added a formidable ally to their potential opponents. They may, on the contrary, allow Franco to continue to buttress his conquest with Italian and German military aid while they offer economic support for the strengthening of their future enemy. This is a wide-open seam in the stop-Hitler ship, just launched with so many flags and brave hopes.

There is an interesting analogy between the present situation and that of last May, when Britain and France halted the Nazi threat to Czecho-Slovakia by adopting a firm stand. Hitler stopped then, but he intensified his resolution and his preparation for success in October. Having been bold in the spring, the governments

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idly toward their surrender in the fall. Will the same thing happen six months from now? If it does, the game will be up; never again will it be possible to organize resistance to Hitler in Central or Eastern Europe. Chamberlain and Daladier now have their last chance. We do not doubt that the dictators will again test their mettle, when the time is ripe.

Was Spain Worth Fighting For?

FRANCO'S "CLEAN-UP" of the central area of Spain is now in full swing. The very worst has happened. Without a word of mercy or any promise of leniency to his opponents the Fascist chief holds all of Spain. Already decrees indicate his temper. In Madrid there is martial law. The death penalty is fixed for such a crime as unauthorized possession of a radio and reception of news unfavorable to the Fascists. Immediate arrest and trial by a military court is ordered for anyone who insults the armed forces, spreads subversive propaganda, organizes strikes or meets in a group of more than three persons without official permission. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers and civilians—reports said 100,000 in the first two days—have been captured to face the tribunals, to be followed for many of them by a firing squad. The wholesale murder we predicted in our last issue is beginning and the governments of France, England and the United States have said no word to stop it.

Even people who have hoped and worked and fought for the Spanish Republic may ask now what has been gained by the long struggle. What was the use of fighting? The question must be answered by another question. How would the world stand today if Spain had not resisted for thirty-two months? All that time Spain stood as the greatest barrier to Fascist conquests. The miraculous defense of Madrid roused millions of people all over the world against fascism. Every battle in Spain was a signal for new thousands to declare themselves against the butchery by the Italian and German invaders. Organizations of millions in the United States alone sent aid to Spain and began to organize for democracy in America too. People who wanted to help Spain found they had to bring pressure on Congress. They have learned what fascism is and who its friends are in America.

Spain is the great example of resistance to Fascist attack. Her experience defines the unity that is needed now by every people and all the peoples together. To the degree that unity was gained within the People's Front the Republic was strengthened. Increased force to resist and attack followed every broadening and unifying move of the government. The end of unity—the overthrow of the People's Front—was quickly followed by unconditional surrender. Unity of political unity was not, and this made more difficult the organization of resistance. Worst of all, the ties with the democratic peoples of every country proved so weak that Mexico and the Soviet Union were the only governments to send aid. This lack of international unity became the deciding factor in the war.

To those who say now that the fight was hopeless from the beginning, and that it should not have been undertaken, it is enough to point out that the Republic did not begin the war. Fascist attack was met with the people's defense of themselves. At the beginning no one could foresee that neither France, England nor the United States would permit the elected government even to buy arms for cash. As the war went on it became a race between the people's organizing power and the shipment of arms and armies from Italy and Germany. When Teruel fell to the Republic it seemed the people had gained the advantage they had never held before. But overwhelming shipments from the Fascist powers forced them back to the defensive. Munich was the end of their hopes. Even before Munich, in June, 1938, the Spanish were cut off and no arms could come in, while the Fascists knew—they were told plainly—that Britain and France would do nothing to stop them. Franco got planes, guns and tanks. The Republic had not even enough food. When Barcelona fell the Republican troops were being issued five bullets per man per day. Franco's artillery concentration equaled that of the Germans at Verdun. And Britain and France were encouraging the men inside the Republic who wanted to surrender. The magnificent Loyalist resistance was smashed under circumstances that could not have been foreseen in July, 1936.

Meanwhile the Rebels themselves had been changed by their effort to win the war. The movement that Franco led in 1936 had been a counter-revolution, bloody and simple. Its aim was to give Spain back to the landlords and bishops and generals, who had ruled it since the seventeenth century, and thus reduce the country to obedience and inertia. But Franco gradually came to realize that very few Spanish peasants would serve in such a crusade. In the effort to gain recruits he encouraged the Falange—the Spanish Fascist organization—to promise all sorts of reforms, higher wages, irrigation projects, even the breaking up of the big estates. Fascist propaganda in Spain has gone to extremes of demagogy. In attempting to outmatch the radicals, it has shouted "Down with the capitalists"—in a country where the capitalists are not so strong as in Italy or in Germany. Spain will change greatly in the next few years. Most of the promises made to the Spanish masses will be broken, but some of them are likely to be kept, under the always present threat that the masses will rise again. Franco's triumph is by no means the end of the struggle.

It is heartbreaking that the Republic is defeated, as

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to democratic, progressive people. It is small comfort to say that the Spanish people cannot finally be beaten, that they must ultimately free Spain. We reckon painfully how much has been lost, how many of the best have been killed. But work is still to be done for Spain. The North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy is raising money to aid the refugees and making efforts to prevent as far as possible the massacre that Franco has already begun. The Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade are taking care of the disabled Americans who fought in Spain. They must raise thousands of dollars to bring home Franco's American prisoners who, it is hoped, will be released soon. The millions who have been helping Spain can go on helping in these ways. Best of all they can help by throwing their energy into the fight against fascism anywhere and everywhere in the world. A good slogan for that fight is in our minds. It is "No Pasaran!"

Amending the Neutrality Law

As THE SENATE begins hearings on proposed modifications of the Neutrality Act, we should be aware of the implications of the main suggestions. One is to repeal it altogether; this would leave us in the position we held during the last European war, when we defended our right to trade with all belligerents, including the shipments of munitions to them. This prepared the way for our entrance into hostilities, because of the impossibility of defending full "neutral rights" against either side without joining the other, and because of the war boom, which would have been ended if we had allowed Allied credit to fail. This, to our minds, is the worst course of all. Another proposal—the amendment offered by Senator Thomas—is to allow the President discretion to discriminate among belligerents, applying the act solely against "aggressors." This means virtually joining any European system of collective security; it would make it as certain that we would participate in a new war as the first course.

The Pittman proposal is to abandon the absolute embargo on arms and munitions, applying the "cash-and-carry" plan to export of these goods; otherwise the act would be retained substantially in its present form, except that it would not apply to civil wars and that responsibility for action under it would not be left to the President's discretion, but would be exercised jointly by the President and Congress. This proposal is far better than either of the first two. Its main change would be to make it possible for Britain and France to buy munitions here after war broke out. This would somewhat increase the likelihood of our being drawn in; no such concession should, in our opinion, be made until we know whether Britain and France would be fighting for causes we believe in and really needed this help.

want to make the law more strict rather than less so, by eliminating presidential discretion as much as possible. They desire to make the application of the act obligatory in the case of undeclared war, so that the President could not again fail to invoke it as he did in the Far East. And they want to apply the cash-and-carry plan not merely to such non-military commodities as the President may designate, but to all exports to belligerents outside of munitions, which would be absolutely embargoed as at present. This course involves some difficulties, but admittedly it would strengthen our hand in remaining at peace.

Finally, it is possible to continue the act virtually as it stands by reënacting the cash-and-carry clauses, which automatically expire on May 1. This, in our opinion, should be done if no other legislation is enacted. If the act were further amended to eliminate civil war from its provisions, we should not be in so much danger of aiding the wrong side in a battle for democracy, as we did in Spain.

It must be remembered that, after a war breaks out, Congress can always amend the act in the direction of favoritism to one side and participation in hostilities. But it is not likely to amend it in the other direction, since the more we trade with belligerents, the more deeply involved we shall be, and partisanship is always intensified after war begins. The present act, under the existing control of the seas and the distribution of purchasing power, seems to us as far as it is desirable to go in allowing the economic weight of the United States to support Britain and France. Under it they can, without protest from us, virtually stop trade with their enemies, and they can buy everything they need except munitions. They manufacture most of their own munitions in any case; their principal need is for raw materials and other manufactured articles. If the act cannot be made more stringent, it should at least not be made less so.

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Europe's Explosive Minorities

GERMANY'S DRIVE TO THE EAST—its momentum accelerated both by Nazi successes and by economic strains within the Third Reich—reveals in a new light the national-minorities problems which for centuries have plagued this region. Innumerable migrations of peoples from east to west, and again from west to east, have left fragments of diverse nationalities, now hopelessly mixed by intermarriage. Each of these national minorities—often no more than an island in the midst of the state where it found anchorage by accident or design—remains conscious of its peculiar characteristics, language and culture, and retains its ties with the mother country, refusing to abandon the hope of eventual reunion with a Greater Germany, a Greater Hungary or a Greater Ukraine.

These hopes were at least partially realized at the Paris Peace Conference, where the doctrine of "self-determination" was invoked to settle conflicting territorial claims. Poland, partitioned by Russia, Germany and Austria in the eighteenth century, once more became an independent nation. A new state, Czechoslovakia, was welded out of former provinces of the Hapsburg empire. Croats and Slovenes were set free to join their Serb brethren in Yugoslavia. Italy recovered its *terra irredenta* from Austria-Hungary. Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania had already obtained their independence from revolutionary Russia. Of the sixty million people who before the War had lived under alien rule from the Baltic to the Adriatic, forty millions obtained fulfilment of their national aspirations in 1919.

The peace settlement, however, failed to correct the grievances of some existing minorities, and created new ones in the Secession States. The doctrine of self-determination had been applied chiefly where it happened to coincide with the strategic, political and economic interests of France's new allies in Eastern Europe—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia—which were to replace Russia as a bulwark against renewal of Germany's *Drang nach Osten*. In some of these states, national minorities after the War constituted from 25 to 35 percent of the total population. Large German minorities remained in Polish Upper Silesia, in the South Tyrol ceded by Austria to Italy, in Rumania (where Saxon and Swabian immigrants had settled as early as the twelfth century), in Yugoslavia and Hungary. Half of the population of Memel, assigned to Lithuania in 1924, was German. The predominantly German port of Danzig was transformed into a Free City under League protection to give Poland an outlet to the sea. Most dangerous of all, tro-Hungarian empire, were left under Czechoslovak rule without any opportunity to express their wishes through a plebiscite.

Over two million Hungarians, detached from their fiercely patriotic homeland, were handed over to Czechoslovakia and a Greater Rumania. The Upper Silesia plebiscite left hundreds of thousands of Poles in eastern Germany. Rumania was allowed to retain Bessarabia, wrested in 1918 from Soviet Russia, with its large Russian population. The Ukrainians remained divided among Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and the Soviet Union, all of which they regarded as oppressors in greater or less degree. Post-war economic difficulties, multiplied by the frantic efforts of minute states to achieve self-sufficiency, envenomed the century-old problem of the Jews, who in several countries—notably Germany, Poland, Hungary and Rumania—came to be regarded not as a religious, but as a racial or national minority.

The principal grievance of Germans and Hungarians against Czechoslovakia was that they now had to be ruled, however generously, by what they regarded as an inferior people. A new peace settlement based on the doctrine of "self-determination"—which Hitler, like the Paris Peace Conference, found convenient to invoke when it suited his purposes—merely creates new sets of national minorities on the other side of altered frontiers, as has been done by the Munich accord and the establishment of a German protectorate over Bohemia and Moravia.

Unfortunately for the future of European appeasement, nationalist sentiment throughout this region, far from abating after the World War, has been fanned to fever heat by political and economic conflicts, and now plays directly into the hands of Hitler, himself the new Messiah of German nationalism. Like the Kaiser's Supreme Command, which in 1918 followed the policy of divide and rule in Eastern Europe, seeking to set up German princelings in former Russian provinces, Hitler uses national and social conflicts to bring neighboring states under the economic domination of the Third Reich.

This domination Germany must achieve if Hitler's bloodless Munich victory is not to prove a barren triumph. The acquisition of industrialized Austria and Sudetenland merely increased Germany's need for foreign exchange to purchase the additional food required by her new territories, adding little to her resources except intangible prestige. During the World War Germany, through her alliance with Austria-Hungary, already dominated Austria, Sudetenland, Bohe-

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garian provinces now held by Rumania, which may eventually be absorbed by the Third Reich. Yet she lost the War—partly because she failed to obtain, in Eastern Europe, the wheat and oil needed by her army and civilian population. Today Hitler and Goering assert that Germany has been insulated against recurrence of a blockade by the Western powers. This assertion may prove a vain boast, unless the Nazis are more successful than the Imperial General Staff in persuading or coercing the Eastern European countries outside the pre-war German-Austro-Hungarian bloc to coördinate their natural resources with Germany's militarized industrial system.

In dealing with these countries, the Third Reich has three powerful weapons at its disposal: the technique of boring from within, which consists of using national minorities or discontented social classes in each state to undermine the existing regime; the policy of barter, inaugurated by Dr. Schacht but perfected by his successor, Walther Funk, by which it purchases large quantities of foodstuffs and raw materials—often as much as 50 percent of a country's total output—at prices above world levels, offering in return manufactured goods, armaments (including those produced by the Skoda works of former Czecho-Slovakia), and technical contracts for the construction of factories and public works; and its military power, which not one of its neighbors to the East can hope to resist single-handed.

Yet this very wealth of potential weapons may prove to be Germany's undoing. For, unless the Germans have become much more tactful than they were before 1914—and recent events would seem to demonstrate the contrary—they will again antagonize non-German peoples by their "master-race" arrogance. Until recently, Hitler has had the advantage of dealing with Austrians, Sudeten Germans and Memellanders, many of whom sincerely wanted to go "home to the Reich." From now on he must practise his policy of divide and rule among Slavs, Rumanians and Magyars who for centuries have resisted German domination, and are now hastily erecting a dike against the German flood by belated concessions to national minorities within their borders. Nor is it certain that the Nazis will succeed in concentrating their attention solely on Eastern Europe. Hitler, who in "Mein Kampf" berates the Kaiser for becoming involved in war with Britain over colonies and naval supremacy instead of forging single-mindedly to the East, may find himself in a similar dilemma. His virulent post-Munich attacks on Britain and the United States indicate that the Führer, having proclaimed Germany's hegemony in Eastern Europe, may not resist the temptation of simultaneously making a bid for world power—and incidentally throwing a sop to Italy.

Typical of the problems which loom on Germany's

Austria-Hungary, anxious to obtain food for their demoralized populations during the World War, signed a separate treaty of peace with a nationalist Ukraine which had proclaimed its independence from Russia. But when German troops attempted to strip the Ukraine of its foodstuffs for the benefit of the Central Powers, they encountered, on the part of the peasants, the same kind of passive resistance which in 1933 nearly wrecked Soviet collectivization.

Incorporated in 1923 into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ukraine insisted on retaining the right to leave the union "freely." Today, the Ukraine enjoys a large measure of cultural autonomy, and the young generation appears loyal to the Soviet government. Relations with Moscow, however, have been marked by stormy political and economic conflicts. The trial in 1930 of a group known as the Union for Liberation of the Ukraine, composed largely of intellectuals, revealed a plot to overthrow the Moscow government and proclaim an independent Ukraine. Stalin's collectivization campaign in 1933 aroused the bitter opposition of Ukrainian peasants, many of whom had enjoyed private ownership of land before the World War. Thousands of them were deported at that time to north Russia and Siberia. More recently, disaffection in the Ukraine has been attributed to Trotskyist activities, linked with German propaganda, and a determined effort has been made by Moscow to improve the economic and military position of this region.

If some Ukrainians in the USSR find reason to complain, far worse is the position of their compatriots in Poland, whose national aspirations have been systematically crushed by the Polish government. The Ukrainians have retaliated by acts of terrorism reminiscent of Black and Tan days in Ireland, provoking government reprisals like the bloody "pacification of Eastern Galicia." In the teeth of Polish oppression, the Ukrainians have preserved their cultural identity, built up successful coöperative enterprises and organized an active National Democratic Party.

When, immediately after Munich, neighboring Ruthenia (rechristened Carpatho-Ukraine) obtained autonomy from Czecho-Slovakia—thanks to the intervention of Germany, determined to prevent the creation of a common Polish-Hungarian frontier across Ruthenian territory—the Ukrainians of Poland renewed their demand for autonomy. Poland, fearing that Germany might use Carpatho-Ukraine as a rallying ground for a Nazi-dominated Ukrainian-independence movement which would disrupt the Polish state, demanded cession of this province to Hungary, and hastened to improve its relations with the Soviet Union, also menaced by Hitler's Ukrainian program. Following the conclusion of a treaty of guarantee between Germany and Slovakia, and the occupation of Carpatho-Ukraine by Hungary, which might easily become a

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cession of Carpatho-Ukraine to Rumania, which has good reason to fear both German and Hungarian revisionist aspirations. Poland's maneuvers, however, merely increased the hostility of her Ukrainian subjects. Paradoxical as it may seem, for the Ukrainians of Poland and Ruthenia Germany today is not an enemy, but a powerful protector, who might foster their plans for a greater Ukraine. Here, as elsewhere, Hitler is utilizing the past mistakes of potential opponents to forward his own aims, which ultimately include access to the Soviet Ukraine, with its wealth of water power, foodstuffs and raw materials.

This Ukrainian dream did not originate with Hitler. It did not even originate with the pre-war Pan-Germans. It was cherished by that other corporal, who rose from humble beginnings to be Emperor of all the French and the terror of Europe. In 1812 Napoleon, like Hitler, hoped to use a disaffected Ukraine to bring about the downfall of Russia. He reached Moscow—but failed to conquer Russia. Today, unless the signs of the times prove entirely wrong, the Germans will not be any more successful.

In an ideal world, free from the virus of nationalism, the conjunction of German technical skill and

PRINCIPAL NATIONAL MINORITIES IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

National Minority	*Where Found*	*Numbers*
Czechs and Slovaks	Germany	7,200,000
	Poland	200,000
	Yugoslavia	180,000
	Hungary	450,000
Poles	Germany	800,000[1] / 1,200,000[2]
	Lithuania	65,000
	Latvia	60,000
White Russians	Poland	1,500,000
Lithuanians	Germany	38,000
	Poland	80,000[2] / 300,000[3]
Russians	Lithuania	50,000
	Estonia	92,000
	Latvia	234,000
	Poland	200,000
	Rumania	200,000
Slovenes and Croats	Italy	600,000
Bulgarians	Rumania	400,000
	Greece	200,000
	Turkey	150,000
	Yugoslavia	600,000
Turks	Greece	87,000
	Rumania	230,000
	Bulgaria	580,000
	Hungary	450,000
	Slovakia	91,000
Ukrainians (Ruthenians)	Poland	4,442,000[2] / 7,500,000[4]
	Rumania	500,000[5] / 1,250,000[4]
	USSR	31,120,000[6] / 37,000,000[4]
Germans	Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania	115,000
	Italy	250,000
	Slovakia	140,000
	Poland	800,000[2] / 1,700,000[1]
	Hungary	500,000
	Rumania	800,000
	Yugoslavia	500,000[7] / 600,000[1]
	USSR	1,000,000
Hungarians	Rumania	1,390,000[5] / 1,900,000[8]
	Yugoslavia	470,000
	Slovakia	68,000
Rumanians	Yugoslavia	250,000
	Bulgaria	70,000
Bulgarians	Greece	17,000
	Turkey	20,000
Greeks	Bulgaria	67,000
	Turkey	175,000

[1] According to Germans.
[2] According to Poles.
[3] According to Lithuanians.
[4] According to Ukrainians.
[5] According to Rumanians.
[6] According to Russians.
[7] According to Yugoslavs.
[8] According to Hungarians.

NOTE: The figures in this table can be regarded as approximate only, since recent political readjustments and discrepancies between official and national-minority statistics make entirely accurate computation impossible.

Lack of space precludes a detailed history of how each of these national minorities came to be included within the state in which it lives at present. To mention the most important:

Czechs and Slovaks, once subjects of the Austro-Hungarian empire, were transferred to Germany, Poland and Hungary by the Munich accord of September 29, 1938, the Vienna award of November 2, 1938, and the establishment of a German protectorate over Bohemia and Moravia on March 16, 1939.

Germans, Croats and Slovenes, once subjects of the Austro-Hungarian empire, were transferred to Italy and Yugoslavia by the peace treaties of 1919-20.

were transferred to Rumania and Yugoslavia by the peace treaties.

Germans in Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Yugoslavia and the Baltic states either settled there during centuries or were separated from Germany and Austria-Hungary by the peace treaties.

Russians and White Russians, once subjects of the Tsarist empire, were left in Poland, the Baltic countries (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania), and Rumania by the break-up of that empire in 1917-18.

Bulgarians in Rumania were transferred to that country either at the close of the Balkan wars in 1913 or at the close of the World War.

Germans in the USSR were settled by Peter the Great and Catherine the Great in the eighteenth century, chiefly along the Volga.

Slovaks are not listed as a nation[illegible]

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organizing genius with the barely exploited natural resources of Eastern Europe might be expected to fructify a backward region and raise the standard of living of its impoverished populations. Sooner or later the national groups which in 1918 shook off the yoke of Hapsburgs, Hohenzollerns and Romanovs are bound to go through the process of industrialization and social revolution. Theoretically, there is no more reason why this process should be carried out by Britain and France, which have few economic interests in Eastern Europe and have shown little concern for the welfare of the Danubian peoples, than by Germany, which offers a natural market for their products. Nor is it entirely correct to assert, as is often done in the United States, that Hitler's drive to the east is encouraged by the ruling classes of the Danubian region. These classes, which in the past have closely collaborated with the capitalists of Britain and the United States in exploiting their countries' resources, have most to fear from the establishment of a Nazi-controlled totalitarian system. It is the peasants and middle-class youth of the Danubian region who welcome Nazism, because they regard it as a more satisfactory revolutionary formula than communism. Yet welcome as Nazi economic "assistance" may seem to some groups in the Danubian region, it may easily exacerbate the nationalism of non-German peoples to the point where a series of explosions will prove unavoidable. These explosions, however, may spell the doom of German nationalism. VERA MICHELES DEAN

I Was Hitler's Buddy: II

I WOULD LIKE TO SPEAK of Hitler's youth, for the impressions of youth are the lasting ones. Government officials, especially those posted at the border, always saw the paradise beyond the border. So Hitler heard from his father only praise of Germany and all the faults of Austria. And so he was to some degree brought up to anti-Austrian feelings. Hitler was an enemy of the Hapsburgs. He accused them of entertaining a hostile policy toward Germanism and frequently said that with the accession of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand the downfall of Germanism in Austria was to be expected. He also used to say that history is the teacher of the nations.

Still history teaches us that we in Austria always had to rely on our own strength when German civilization was in danger. Where were the North Germans when the Turks menaced Vienna? A Pole, King John Sobieski, came to Vienna's rescue. The jealousy between Germany's rulers brought about the partition of Germany under Napoleon. Frederick the Great was base enough to appeal to Germany's arch-enemy France against fellow Germans and Bismarck did not hesitate to seek an alliance with Italy in his fratricidal war. The instances of treason and guile which were committed against the German people in Austria are innumerable. In the World War our troops were always compelled to hold positions until the Germans got a breathing spell. Germans requisitioned all the food available in the occupied areas, whereas we were forced into starvation. In our country, in German Bohemia, the misery had its climax. We could obtain nothing from the Czech districts, and many housewives were shot dead when they went to Germany to hunt for food. We would hardly have been able to get the Prussians out of our country if we had won the World War. If Austria were [illegible] National Socialists as the Prussians would be appointed to all the offices. We would have nothing to say in our own country. I don't wish to mention the events of the last few years. The sins against us committed by the great German nation, related to us by blood ties, will remain forever a blot on its honor.

But one can't condemn the great German nation for the actions of its leaders, nor is it possible to lay the whole responsibility on Hitler. He calls himself the leader, but I think he is the one being led. He employed for the service of his party unscrupulous elements, but even he is now unable to check them. The reputation of the German nation is destroyed. Hitler can't get rid of the evil spirits he invoked.

We talked also about the policies adopted against the minorities in different countries. At the same time the forcible denationalization of the German minority in Hungary was mentioned. I took exception to the Prussian policy against the Poles and condemned the attempt of the Prussians to turn the Poles into Germans by violence. Hitler said this was unavoidable; a state must try to create a uniform nationality within its borders. I was very angry that Hitler always took the government's part. Whether the ruthless policy of Magyarization was discussed, or the policy in Posen, or Upper Silesia, Hitler invariably approved of all such violent methods as necessary for the state's sake. In such debates I always sided with his opponents, but opposition was useless because of his shouting.

He talked often about his youth. He said with pride that the people of the Innviertel (the district in which he was born) had the reputation of brawlers, and he told about watching their fights as a lad, and even enjoying them. It was a holiday for him when a friend took him and his father to the district court in Ried to see the deadly weapons exhibited there that had

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horred appealed to him. I don't know whether such instincts disappear in later life. I simply am telling my personal experiences with Hitler, without comment or adornments.

Hitler also told me that when he got into fights as a boy his father wouldn't let him complain but made him fend for himself.

He had read considerably about the Revolution of 1848 and lectured about it a great deal. Richard Wagner was then his favorite subject, first Wagner as a revolutionist in 1848 and afterward his struggles, until he found a patron in King Ludwig. We often went to the scenic railway in the Prater, where we could hear the organ play "Tannhaüser." Hitler listened quietly and explained the action to us. Once he grabbed my hand excitedly and said, "That's the passage! Do you hear? That's the passage!"

On our way home he tried to explain the opera to us and sang some passages. In his excited way he could only hum a few tones and fidget with his arms. But he could describe the scenes very well, and what the music meant. I don't think that it was a real understanding of music, though; he had more of a sense for what was going on on the stage and what had to be performed. For Wagner he had a great enthusiasm, and said sometimes that opera is really the best divine service. Everything about him was somewhat exaggerated.

In the scenic railway there was always a great deal of Mozart played, first of all from "The Magic Flute." Hitler would try to hurry us and get us to leave. Once I remarked that Mozart was greater than Wagner, but Hitler denied it vehemently. He said Mozart fitted the old sentimental times more, but that today he had been outlived. But Wagner was a fighter, there was more greatness and power in Wagner. Besides there were more people kept busy, especially in the orchestra.

He also liked to talk about Gottfried Semper, the architect of the Hofburg, the Museums and the Burgtheater. And one day we spoke of Karl May, for there were rumors that he had been jailed for serious offenses. Hitler said it was mean to bring up his past against such a man, that they who did it were hyenas and scoundrels, and that he himself had read Karl May, who was really a great writer.

Ideas and novelties were his hobby. He thought men of the future would nourish themselves more and more with substitutes, a pill perhaps sufficing as a whole day's ration. I told him I'd stick to my cakes and wine, and leave the pill-food to others. Another time Hitler explained the force of gravity to us, and assumed that the next great scientific advance would be the elimination of gravity from objects, so that iron blocks could be moved from place to place without difficulty.

We talked of the necessity of religion, as there had been published in the Arbeiterzeitung an article mocking a Corpus Domini procession. Hitler condemned it people was being destroyed without a substitute being offered them. He often said religion was necessary, and that if there were none it should be created. He spoke of Voltaire's having gone to church, because he had been robbed by peasants. The peasants said that if there were no God, as Voltaire claimed, then there was no sin either, so Voltaire went to church to prove to them that he believed in God.

Hitler often received benefits from convents. I have already spoken of his having been fed with convent soup, but also for medical advice he went to the Merciful Brothers (Barmherzige Brüder). But he charged Catholicism with Germanophobia, because the Popes were mostly Italians. He said the Catholic Church had reached her present power and greatness by good organization, and pointed to the past when the Church won her way with fire and sword. He also said the Catholic Church had spilt more blood than any other religion. He believed that the Western nations gained a great deal from the oriental civilizations during the crusades, and so our art rose to new heights.

If the Germans had remained faithful to their old mythology, they would today be a united nation, and would have reached a higher standard of civilization. He meant that the Germanic faith, if retained, would have become more ideal with the changing times, and in this connection pointed to the Greeks, in whose faith he said ideals were revered as gods. He was a particular admirer of the structure of the Greek state, where scholars and philosophers exerted a strong influence, a thing we should have emulated. That had been the epoch of philosophy, but in our technical age philosophy was badly neglected. He asserted that it would be easier to combat misery if there were more philosophy. And moreover, he said, there should be more business men in the government, that it should not be, as it was, full of jurists and bureaucrats.

Once Hitler remarked that the Protestant Church was Germany's true religion. I asked him why his father had not been converted to Protestantism. Hitler retorted that since his father was a governmental official it would have made difficulties. Hitler admired Luther as the greatest German genius.

Now I want to make some remarks about Hitler's opinion of the Jews. In those days Hitler was by no means a Jew hater. He became one afterward. He used to say even then that the end sanctions the means, and so he incorporated anti-Semitism into his program as a powerful slogan.

In the Home, Hitler had helpful advisers who were Jews. There was a one-eyed locksmith called Robinsohn who often assisted him, since he was a beneficiary of an accident-insurance annuity and was able to spare a few pennies. And in the Maennerheim Hitler often found Jews who listened to his political debates. The salesman

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ness man by profession and didn't shrink from any work. At first he was with two signboard painters, one a very industrious man and the other the former lamplighter, Greiner. Later on Neumann worked with another Jew who was buying old clothes and peddling them in the streets; at this time he often gave Hitler old clothes. He was a good-hearted man who liked Hitler very much and whom Hitler of course highly esteemed. Hitler told me once that Neumann was a very decent man, because if any of us had small debts Neumann paid them, though he himself was very much in want.

At that time Theodor Herzl and the Zionist question were very much discussed. Hitler and Neumann had long debates about Zionism. Neumann said that if the Jews should leave Austria it would be a great misfortune for the country, for they would carry with them all the Austrian capital. Hitler said no, that the money would obviously be confiscated, as it was not Jewish but Austrian. Then Neumann always made a joke; it would nevertheless be a misfortune for Austria, because when the Jews crossed the Red Sea all the coffeehouses in Leopoldstadt were deserted.

Neumann went to Germany in 1910. He tried to persuade Hitler to join him, speaking with great enthusiasm of Germany, but Hitler wasn't able to make up his mind. Since then I have never heard of Neumann.

Hitler was able to sell his watercolors almost solely to Jewish dealers. He sold to Jacob Altenberg of the Wiednar Hauptstrasse, who also had a branch in the Favoritenstrasse. There was another Jewish shop in the Favoritenstrasse, owned by Landsberger, who also bought from Hitler, and there was Morgenstern in the Liechtensteinstrasse, who often bought from him and sometimes recommended him to the private customers.

The Christian dealers, like the frame manufacturer Schiefer in the Schönbrunnerstrasse, didn't pay any better than the Jews. Besides, they only bought again when they had disposed of the first lot, while the Jewish dealers continued to buy whether they had sold anything or not. Hitler often said that it was only with the Jews that one could do business, because only they were willing to take chances. They are really the most efficient business men. He also appreciated the charitable spirit of the Jews, and mentioned the statesman Sonnenfels during Maria Theresa's reign. He went even further. For instance, when the people in the Home expressed resentment at Queen Elizabeth's erecting a monument to Heine on her estate at Corfu, Hitler argued that it was sad that Heine's fatherland did not similarly recognize his merit. Hitler himself didn't agree with Heine's views but his poetry deserved respect. When it was argued that there were few artists among the Jews, Hitler replied that there might be few, but there were some, and he mentioned Mendelssohn.

But he admired the Jews most for their resistance to all persecutions. He remarked of Rothschild that he might have had the right of admission to court but refused it because it would have meant changing his religion. Hitler thought that was decent, and that all Jews should behave likewise. During our evening walk we discussed Moses and the Ten Commandments. Hitler thought it possible that Moses had taken over the commandments from other nations, but if they were the Jews' own they had produced as a nation one of the most marvelous things in history, since our whole civilization was based on the Ten Commandments. About Christ he said that he must surely have been in India, as he adopted points of Buddhism, and after all he was the son of a Greek who served as a Roman army captain. During these walks a Bavarian foreman from a dairy often accompanied us. He wondered why Jews always had remained strangers in the nation, and Hitler answered that it was because they were a different race. Also, he said that the Jews had a different smell.

Nevertheless Hitler at that time looked very Jewish, so that I often joked with him that he must be of Jewish blood, since such a large beard rarely grows on a Christian's chin. Also he had big feet, as a desert wanderer must have. Hitler himself often remarked that descendants of Jews are very radical and have terroristic inclinations. He said that for a Jew to take advantage, to a certain extent, of a non-Jew, was not punishable according to the Talmud. On the other hand he often dismissed the charge of ritual murder with the remark that it was absolute nonsense, a groundless slander. He used to quote from "Nathan der Weise" by Lessing and could well recite the parable of the three rings. He believed every religion to be good, and expressed the opinion that the Jews were the first civilized nation because they were the first to abandon polytheism for the belief in one God. The fact that they made no images indicated, he said, that they worshiped God more as Nature itself. So he didn't care much about anti-Semitism.

Hitler often even denied that Jewish capitalists practise usury, and pointed out that most capital is in the hands of Christians. He accused the nobility of practising usury, using the Jews as agents. However, he called the nobility a sort of noble race that would forever remain preëminent. But Emperor Wilhelm II he called a conceited chatterer who posed for monuments.

Perhaps many people will doubt the truth of these statements, and point to the German Reich today. But I have often noticed myself that anti-Semitism took cruder forms in Germany than in our country. This is due to the character of the Germans, especially the Prussians. I am convinced that Hitler himself doesn't agree with many of these insanities, but he is the prisoner of his circle.

REINOLD HANISCH

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Will Canada Join the U.S.A.?

GREAT BRITAIN today is the most vulnerable of the great powers. With her far-flung empire and an extroverted economy that could not survive the rupture of her empire communications for more than a few weeks, Britain is acutely sensitive to disturbances of the status quo in any part of the world. It is this that imposes on her statesmen a complex policy of temporization and maneuver, one might almost say of orderly retreat. The direction of British affairs is entrusted to elderly mediocrities, because the decrepit empire could not well survive the vigorous leadership of a Lloyd George or a Winston Churchill. This bodes ill for her relations with her dominions.

John Bull's Empire constitutes one of history's anomalies. The American Revolution taught British statesmen the wisdom of retreating gracefully before the inevitable and granting autonomy to their white territories as they attained maturity. As long as London remained the money market of the world, and the dominions primarily agricultural countries, the motherland held her dominions by firm economic bonds. In the case of Canada this situation scarcely survived the pre-war period. New York has long replaced London as a source of capital for Canada. In addition the development of domestic industries has seriously impaired the Canadian market for British products.

From time to time there have been grandiose projects advanced for Empire Free Trade. These were less absurd in the mouth of Joseph Chamberlain at the turn of the century than as revived by the irrepressible Lord Beaverbrook a few years ago. The scheme drags not one leg but two. It assumes that the dominions are prepared to sacrifice their domestic industry to their agriculture, which is anything but the case, above all in Canada. Then too it calls for the exclusion from Britain of the wheat, beef and hides of the Argentine, the most formidable competitor of the dominions. But economically the Argentine is more intimately a part of the Empire than Canada.

Through the barter system, Nazi Germany has forged a weapon of economic and political penetration out of its vast market for primary products. For Great Britain to shut foreign raw materials out of her markets in favor of Empire produce would be willfully to hand two continents—Europe and South America—to Hitler. During last August and November the British government made "political" purchases of wheat from Rumania totaling 600,000 tons. Meanwhile the wheat-producing dominions are faced with the largest surplus in recent years.

The ambitious plans of Chamberlain were translated into reality by the modest system of Empire tariff

between the dominions and the motherland; without doubt the British Empire dies hard. In the case of Canada, however, it has a surprising contrary effect. The Empire market to which Canadian products have relatively easy access has beckoned irresistibly to the American industrialists. Countless large American concerns have established Canadian subsidiaries. Canada has become a window into the Empire for the U.S.A. The entire auto industry of Canada is controlled by parent American concerns, and many of the parts come from the United States. One-third of its production is exported to other parts of the Empire.

The paring down of dominion preference in the British market under the Anglo-American-Canadian trade treaty has a prophetic significance. It means the slackening of the last economic tie that binds Canada to the motherland. The serious decline in the importance of Canada's wheat exports during the last few years has had a similar effect.

Politically too Canada has felt a strong tug away from the motherland. The ardent regard of the French-Canadian minority for the "patrie" is limited to their native province: their ties with the rest of Canada they accept as a cold fact of political geography. They are violently opposed to becoming involved in a war for the defense of the Empire. In the Great War French-Canadian resistance waxed as the scale of Canadian participation grew. The squabble over the question of bilingual schools for the French minority in Ontario was of greater interest to Quebec than all the fronts of Europe. When conscription was introduced in 1917, armed barricade fighting broke out between the army and the people in Quebec City. The province sent practically a solid anti-conscriptionist bloc to the House of Commons. The best way out of the difficulty that the Borden government could find was the virtual suspension of the Conscription Act in Quebec. Canadian neutrality would have eased Canada's financial status; its participation left it crushed under an alpine burden of debt.

The Empire is approaching a critical period when its ties will be submitted to more severe tests than after-dinner speeches. The outlook is far from bright. Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, who as British Secretary for the Dominions should know, publicly bewails the danger of the dominions formally leaving the Empire. Scant wonder that Britain is exporting her royalty simultaneously in all directions in a desperate effort to revive the flagging empire ties. King George is to take the step, unprecedented for a reigning monarch, of visiting Canada. The Duke of Kent is earmarked for

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service once the cosmic problem of the right of his Duchess to curtsies has been threshed out.

Of greater practical significance than King George's trip to Canada was President Roosevelt's visit there last summer. In his historic speech at Kingston, the President took the unparalleled step of announcing the extension of the Monroe Doctrine to Canada. Over a hundred years ago a British foreign minister prompted President Monroe to formulate the doctrine that bears his name in order to facilitate British economic penetration in the revolting Spanish colonies. Its extension to Canada today is more than a subtle hint that the Empire alone cannot defend her North American dominion. The dominion enters as a vital factor into the defense plans of the United States.

Canada's mighty "good neighbor" to the south has long cast its shadow on Canadian foreign policy. Canadian delegates to international gatherings have never tired of brandishing the 4,000 miles of undefended American-Canadian frontier. The truth is that these are 4,000 miles of frontier not worth defending. Its vast area does not give Canada the military advantage of depth as is the case with Russia; everything of importance is to be found strung precariously across the country within a hundred miles of the American frontier. The rest of the world is too distant to make possible a "balance of power" policy towards the United States.

Canada must avoid becoming involved in hostilities with the United States. This is the fundamental axiom of her foreign policy that takes easy precedence over her relations with the Empire. When Britain's Japanese alliance threatened to embroil her relations with the United States after the War, Canada's lone-handed struggle at the Imperial Conference of 1921 caused Britain to denounce the alliance the following year. Canada's position as a British dominion has provided Uncle Sam with a "window into the Empire" in the sphere of diplomacy as well as economics.

Today the British Empire is drifting toward an uncertain future. Mr. Chamberlain's appeasement may, for the time being, direct the expansive policies of Nazi Germany elsewhere. But at best this will only mean that a more powerful Germany immeasurably fortified by her Eastern conquests will challenge the Empire in India, Africa and Europe tomorrow. Meanwhile the *rapprochement* of Britain with the Berlin-Rome-Tokio axis does not bode well for her friendship with the United States. A military defeat of Britain or serious friction between America and Britain, is almost certain to result in Canada's formal withdrawal from the Empire.

In 1937 Canada bought goods worth $393,000,000 from the United States and sold it goods worth $435,000,000. The purchases from and sales to Britain were respectively $129,500,000 and $408,000,000—this de-

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trade from its natural channels with the United States and direct it toward the transatlantic motherland. American capital investments in Canada amount to $3,984,000,000 as against $2,725,000,000 for Britain. Britain's investments date almost entirely from the pre-war period. The greater part of American capital in Canada was pumped into the country since 1914 (over $1,000,000,000 between 1926 and 1930). The tendency, more than the absolute figures, is significant.

Today the main obstacles to Canadian Anschluss with the U.S.A. are the vested interests that have grown up behind the tariff wall. Canadian banking, industry and transport can boast of a degree of concentration far beyond anything that the United States has to show. The report of the Royal Commission on Price Spreads shed a revealing light on this. Industrial commodities in Canada sell for substantially higher prices than in the United States despite the lower average standards of wages in Canada and the national sweatshop that the trusts have at their disposal in the province of Quebec. Cotton fabrics in 1932 were as much as 56 percent higher than in the United States, even when the American prices were translated into the cheaper Canadian dollar of the time.

Mr. Roosevelt's formidable processing tax failed to bring American cotton-fabric prices much within 15 percent of their Canadian equivalents. Meanwhile wages in the Canadian textile industry averaged 30.4 cents an hour for Ontario and 26.6 cents for Quebec as against 42.2 cents and 35.6 cents for the Northern and Southern states of the United States. The largest Canadian textile trust, Dominion Textile Company, Ltd., formed as a result of a merger in 1904, has averaged 98 percent on its original common stock—dividends reaching as high as 150 percent, and never falling below 50 percent since the second year of its existence. Here we have the real fiber of Canadian independence that asserts itself with equal truculence against the cheaper British industrial commodities that threaten its privileges and against those from the United States. For the monopolies Canadian independence has been a racket that makes the Capones and Dutch Schultzes look like small-time chiselers.

The demand for annexation to the U.S.A. was in the mouths of the rebels of 1837 who rose against the tyranny of the trading and land-owning aristocracy and the British officialdom. The abolition of Canadian grain preference on the British market with the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1849 again brought matters to a head. The Parliament Buildings in Montreal were burned and the governor, Lord Elgin, mobbed. Conservative politicians, ministers of the Crown, spoke resignedly of annexation to the United States as the solution for the colony's economic difficulties. Reciprocal treaties with the United States for natural products had the effect of quieting annexionist agitation for the

The end of reciprocity with the United States in 1865 was not least among the factors that led to Canadian Confederation. The colonies were driven to consolidate their domestic market. Confederation had its seamy side that foreshadowed the future intimacy of vested interest and the Canadian state. Its midwives were the railway sharks seeking a government with coffers big enough to underwrite and finance their speculative ventures. There were the cries of the Nova Scotians sold into Confederation against their expressed will "for less than the price of a sheep's skin." Finally the protectionist National Tariff Policy soon set in and bled the Maritime and Western Provinces for the sake of the greedy industrial interests of Toronto and Montreal. A domestic industry, frequently of an uneconomic, parasitic character, gained a foothold in the Central Provinces.

Today the Maritime Provinces that had a natural outlet for their produce in New England have to look to central and western Canada, hundreds and thousands of miles away, for their market. The agricultural west that disposes of its wheat on the open world market must buy the expensive industrial produce of Ontario and Quebec. Industry is strictly localized in Ontario and western Quebec, and dependent for the greater part of its fuel on Pennsylvania coal. The rich coal fields of Alberta lie nearly useless. Distance cuts them off from Canada's industries and local industrial development is precluded by the limited market.

Seventy years of Confederation have not integrated the different parts of Canada into an effective unit. Sectional differences today are more bitter than ever in the past. Influential circles in the Maritimes want tariff autonomy. The west has even raised a demand for secession and organization into a separate British dominion. This was the burden of a resolution adopted at the recent convention of the United Farmers of Saskatchewan. The Rowell Commission appointed to inquire into sectional antagonisms has been assailed from all sides by recriminations and threats of secession. The industrial interests of Central Canada, represented most aggressively by the provincial premiers Hepburn and Duplessis, defend their privileges fiercely.

The perennial economic difficulties that plague Canada can almost all be traced to the cumbersome set-up brought into being by Confederation. The railway problem has its roots in the formidable factor of distance created by joining together the various sections of Canada torn away from the neighboring parts of the U.S.A. It became necessary to build transcontinental trunk lines independent of the American railway system. Hectic financing did the rest. Railroads and finance remain the big headaches of Canadian politics.

Canadian economy leans disturbingly on the world market. "With its small population it is the fifth largest trading nation in the world," the official version blithely trade must be considered highly problematical, this is an added factor of economic instability. This too results from the economic absurdity of Confederation. Restricted to a northerly clime, frustrated in its attempt to develop an effective internal division of labor by the great distances, Canada can boast of a per-capita foreign trade five times as great as that of the United States. To make matters worse, her economy is geared to the least stable sectors of the world market—primary products such as wheat, timber, non-ferrous metals and semi-manufactures like newsprint. The blows of the world crisis shook Canada more severely than most other countries. It is largely due to the remarkable development of her gold mining that she has been able to surmount the most acute phase of economic distress. Tariff or political unity with the United States would integrate Canada into a balanced economic system.

WILLIAM STOKES

A Gay People

Fond of dancing and light wines.
– Old Geography Lesson.

Without a shadow of a shadow of pride
Dead men and women wander on the streets
Of a gray city. They do not lift their eyes
Above the ground they used to call their own
Even to see bright articles in shops
Or peer at paper treatises on love
Cheap and neglected in the open boxes.

No leaf on any tree. But many statues
Bone-white and naked, writhing or sedate,
Gaze through the rain at nothing in the gardens,
At nothing at all.

A funny item in the morning paper
Says that in Washington, D. C., a dog,
A pet of the Italian embassy,
Was granted diplomatic recognition,
with all due status and immunities.
Here, Bonnet! Here, Berard! Here, Daladier!
Here, Chamberlain, Halifax! (Down, you sons of bitches!)

Trained hounds that hunt with modulated voice
In the late winter sessions. Have your way.

Without a shadow of a shadow of pride.
What's honor? Air. Who hath it? He that died.

February. The Roman month of the dead.
Again the cock crew. Peace with honor, Britannicus.
Pray for us sinners. Not with a bang, but a whimper.
De mortuis nil nisi—
Quando ver venit meum?

Hearken! O brave, heart-breaking, noble sound!
Do I hear singing somewhere over the mountains?
—Arriba, victimas hambrientes,
Arriba, todos a luchar!

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Shoot the Works

Caught in the Surfeit

ROY HOWARD in a special cable to his papers from Europe stated that the American public is sometimes fooled about foreign affairs by knowing too much. But he need not have gone abroad to discover this dreadful state of affairs. It obtains in the domestic scene as well.

I think it might truly be said that no capital in the world is covered so minutely as our own. One cannot throw a rock in Washington without hitting a special correspondent of one sort or another. And if they were strung out in proper alignment, one might walk from the National Press Club to the station touching nothing but the head or shoulders of some author engaged upon a series of articles to be entitled either "Inside the News" or "Between the Lines."

And yet it seems to me that the average citizen is often far afield in his judgment of men and events pertaining to our government. If there were a rigorous censorship, the newspaper reader would be ignorant, but some conception of his paucity of information might seep through and he would learn in time to take all headlines and articles with several grains of salt.

But knowing much, the average American reader thinks he knows all and if he doesn't he has only to turn to one of several commentators who will profess to tell him what passed between the President and the Vice President in a secret conference. Indeed Alva Johnston, formerly a reporter but now of the magazines, once rose to the immortal heights of telling his many million readers what a man had said to himself some ten years ago. This indeed dwarfs the great news beat almost scored by Walter Winchell, who announced in his column that he had been supplied with a sure tip on the identity of the new Pope a week in advance but had neglected to print it.

And yet for all our ready access to information, confusion is still with us and the propagandists play upon us. To some extent the art of creating misapprehension has been developed to a greater extent in the United States than in any other country of the world. Clumsy plotters deal only in lies and in lands where the press is completely gagged they can get away with it. Our press is almost free and so the group which would put over a fast one will generally not go below the level of half-truths. But the really master mind gives out the truth and departs from verity merely by delicate shadings of the emphasis. It is quite possible, for instance, to print a full transcript of anybody's speech and convey an entirely erroneous impression by setting some sentences here and there in italics.

But when Mr. Howard comes back to his own country and can afford some extra words which he neglected to use on account of the cost of cable tolls, I feel sure that he will amplify his homily. Although I am not empowered to speak for him officially, I think I know his mind and spirit well enough to predict that he will say that the remedy for the confusion arising from too much knowledge can be labels should accompany some of the material which is sent from Washington and finds its way into print. It might be illuminating to have the phrase "It is learned on reliable authority" translated upon occasion into the more correct form of "This happens to be my guess."

And I would have abrogated by general press proclamation some of the immunities which public men enjoy under gentlemen's agreement. In New York, for instance, authors, actors, lawyers and even columnists may find their most private concerns turned up by candid-camera men or the all-seeing eye of the Broadway commentators. Once two authors engaged in a slight case of fisticuffs at a private banquet and although only one mild jab was landed the matter became front-page news in the papers a few hours later. Again a wrestling and hair-matching contest took place in a publisher's sanctum between a left-wing writer and one somewhat more addicted to laughter and reaction. This too was duly noted. If the participants in either case had been servants of the people the Washington press corps would have protected them. I see no reason why a Congressman's concerns should be more secret than those of a Nobel Prize-winner. If game laws are to be established they should be the same along Broadway as in the District of Columbia.

But most of all I would like to see a considerable abrogation of the secrecy which surrounds the most vital part of the functioning of the United States Supreme Court. This represents more than a journalistic itch. Each year valuable source material for American history goes down the sluiceways never to be recovered.

I refer, of course, to the discussion between the Supreme Court Justices which occurs before formal decisions are written. It is here that the organic law of this country is molded. When the minds meet and clash very great stakes hang upon the tide of debate. Rumor has it that angry passions rise at times and that learned jurists let their hair down and speak to each other picturesquely and in the vernacular. These differences do crystalize into written opinions which are read aloud before a small audience in the Supreme Court Building, and if the issue is important the leading newspapers will print the text in full.

But this bears the same relationship to the actual conflict as a seat on the fifty-yard line bears to a slight summary of the high points of the game in next day's paper. Perhaps I am ahead of my times in the hope that some day these private deliberations will be open to press and public with various seats assigned to the cheering sections. But in all good faith, I see no reason why a decision day should not be put upon the air so that the millions rather than the hundreds could hear the actual voices of the members of the High Bench reading dissents or majority opinions.

The radio engineers could arrange things in such a way as to make it unnecessary for any one of the jurists to advance before the microphone and preface his remarks with "Hello, everybody." However, it would not be altogether evil if the Justices were slightly radio-conscious. The responsibility might move them to clearer diction (the utterance of the nine is shockingly sloppy) and clearer decisions. But most of all there is the need that some one upon retirement from the bench should write a book en-

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Washington Notes

Liberal Offensive

THE INTENSE FIGHTING of a few days ago in the House has resulted in a major political event. The liberal bloc has been reconstituted. The little group of House left-wingers decided that the official Democratic leadership meant to sabotage Mr. Roosevelt's request for an additional $150,000,000 for the WPA. Accordingly, they served notice on the Democratic leaders that, unless this sabotage were abandoned, they would retaliate by striking against the AAA appropriation bill. This they did. Deliberately and by its own efforts, the liberal bloc cut an appropriation of $250,000,000 for added parity payments from the AAA measure. As it is now revived, the liberal bloc numbers between twenty and thirty men. On the parity-payment vote, it failed to have the support of Messrs. Voorhis, Izac and other California New Dealers who would ordinarily vote with it. But the parity-payment provision was lost by only thirteen votes. Its defeat was demonstrably the liberal bloc's achievement.

The present liberal bloc is essentially different from that which functioned under the alternate leadership of Mr. Maverick and Mr. Boileau from 1933 until a year ago. The Maverick-Boileau bloc was a "ginger group" within the New Deal. It did not—as the new liberal bloc promises to do—hold the balance of power in the House. Up until the current Congress, there was no clear, permanent line of cleavage between the hard-shell Democratic conservatives and Republicans, on the one hand, and the "official" Democratic Party, on the other. Mr. Maverick and Mr. Boileau had no real chance to play balance-of-power politics. They could only agitate.

To find a parallel to the present liberal bloc, it is necessary to go back to the twenties, when Mr. LaGuardia was captain of the Progressives. The titular head of today's liberal bloc is the kindly, wise Mr. Sabath, chairman of the Rules Committee. Mr. Sabath, however, is seventy-three, not so quick on his feet as he once was, and a great part of the parliamentary burden in the recent fight was carried by Mr. Marcantonio, who happens to come from Mr. LaGuardia's old district on the Upper East Side of New York and was elected in part through Mr. LaGuardia's backing. His manner on the House floor, where he spurts biting witticisms, is not unlike Mr. LaGuardia's. A congressional Rip van Winkle might have wandered back into the House last week and not found anything amiss, except that the man he would have mistaken for Mr. LaGuardia had grown unaccountably more slender.

Mr. Marcantonio, however, has not yet achieved Mr. LaGuardia's prestige and leadership. The slaughter of the AAA parity payments was a coöperative venture, organized by—among others—Messrs. Allen, Coffee of Washington, Connery, Healey, McKeough and Magnuson. Also in the group was Mr. Jim Fay, the White House candidate in the purging of Mr. John J. O'Connor at last November's election. Mr. Fay is reputed to be Mr. Roosevelt's choice as [illegible] of Wall Street [illegible]

he lost a leg, and a reinfection of his old wounds has kept him in the hospital during much of the present session. The farm bill fight marked his debut as a liberal strategist.

Even if the fight of the House liberal bloc proves to have been futile, it will have made a demonstration of power that the Southern Democratic leadership will not forget. It has shown those leaders—Messrs. Bankhead, Rayburn, Jones, Doughton and the rest—that they can no longer rule the House as they please. It has shown that that, whenever measures arise on which the Republican-conservative Democratic coalition and the Democratic leadership take opposing sides, it has the deciding votes.

By all signs, the dominant elements in Congress have now adopted a policy of scuttle-and-run. The White House advisers appear to be bringing pressure for the earliest adjournment possible, seemingly because they fear Mr. Roosevelt will suffer further defeats. As suggested last week, changes in the neutrality law are likely to be abandoned. Inside Congress, both the Democratic leadership and the extreme Democratic reactionaries appear bent on quick adjournment, although for slightly different reasons. The leadership fears a drive for universal veterans' pensions, now hovering on the congressional horizon, as well as the onslaught of Senator Sheridan Downey's and Dr. Townsend's soon-to-be amalgamated old folks. The Democratic reactionaries think that by an early ending of Congress they can frustrate spending of every sort. A rush for adjournment will mean that our newly created liberal bloc will have little chance to exercise its balance of power. It means also that the New Deal's plans for stimulating investment in the railroads and utilities and bringing capital to small businesses will be lost. It makes it unlikely that a new public-works program will be adopted. If the current spirit in Washington prevails, the New Deal may enter the 1940 campaign without the economic upturn that it had in 1936, and that is needed for victory.

The Garner-for-President boom is incredible, but exists. If you read it in a book, you wouldn't believe it. Eight years ago, as speaker, the present darling of the conservatives was whooping up the biggest, most barefaced pork-barrel bill the country has known to the accompaniment of ferocious attacks on Wall Street and big business. After his nomination at the 1932 Chicago convention, a trusted agent of the Democratic National Committee was assigned to guard him night and day lest he make a speech that by its wildness would turn the country back to Hoover. The precaution was unneeded, since Mr. Garner does not indulge in full-dress speeches, and has one of the most ineffectual speaking voices possessed by a politician. Mr. Garner has vast charm; no one except another Texan can resist cowboy talk. His celebrated "Bureau of Education" at the Capitol, where so many liquid blows have been struck for freedom, has enabled him to have a very real personal influence over his fellow members of Congress. But Mr. Garner's supposed leadership of the anti-Roosevelt Democrats is pure myth. The major strategists are Senators Harrison and Byrnes, and it is at least doubtful if Mr. Garner has read the various measures they are proposing. He is a small-town banker; his

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which ought to make him unacceptable to all factions of the Democratic Party. Because of his advanced age—seventy-two in 1941—a number of candidates for the Democratic nomination have sought to use him as a sort of hitching post for delegates in the expectation that they could be reappropriated when needed. For many months he was supposed to be a decoy for Senator Clark of Missouri. But, having been repeatedly blessed by Dr. Gallup, the old gentleman is understood to be taking his own candidacy seriously. Mr. Emil Hurja, top-ranking wizard of American politics, says that Mr. Garner is so far ahead of all other candidates that he cannot be stopped. This department's advice is that if you encounter any Garner money and can get odds, take it.

Washington T. R. B.

Other People's Money

Sense about Social Security

IN THE COURSE of the last four years the writer of this column has called attention frequently to the exorbitant tax upon employers and employees for old-age benefits. The object of the excessive tax in the Social Security Act was to build up a huge reserve account running up to somewhere near forty-seven billion dollars. The result would be that during forty years that almost fabulous sum would be squeezed out of workers and their employers at the payroll —the worst possible spot to impose taxes for general government support. And the money derived from these heavy rates for reserve purposes would be spent and were being spent for government expenses and not for social security.

I cannot now recall how many critical letters came to me, some in gentle remonstrance, some of the most abusive character. But all agreed that I could be better employed than in making these vicious thrusts at our great President. There seems to be a notion that no man can criticize the measures of the administration without having a personal grudge against the President. I mention this now because those who thought that will have to conclude that Mr. Henry Morgenthau, the President's closest friend, also entertains the same personal bias. Because Mr. Morgenthau has just gone before the House Ways and Means Committee and conceded that the criticisms of the rates and the reserve were justified, that the reserve idea should be abandoned for a modest contingent fund, which is what this department urged, and that the increase in rates due next year might be abandoned, which is also what this writer urged before the same committee.

The President himself admitted that the reserve idea had been justly criticized. He added, however, that there had never been any intention of accumulating so large a reserve. But that statement is not quite in conformity with the history of this weird episode in public finance. At all events this bad and indefensible—indeed a little shocking—chapter in the social-security law has come to an end. For it was a shocking thing to attempt to use the hopes of the workingman for security as an excuse for wringing out of him not

The complacence of the employed under this squeeze is an interesting phase of the episode. First of all, the leaders of the workingman sat idly by and permitted this enormous attempted levy upon their followers without lifting their voices in opposition. The reason they did not oppose it was doubtless because this tax was the especial pet of the White House. It was forced on the presidential advisers and Congress by the White House. The labor leaders were busy playing administration politics and so permitted this raid upon the payrolls to go unchallenged. It would have gone on still unchallenged if others had not pressed the fight. And now we have the spectacle of the government admitting that a billion-dollar yearly raid on workers' payrolls was justly attacked and should be ended, without a single labor leader ever having uttered a word against it.

As for the workers themselves, they yielded in complete silence because they did not understand it. They had been told it was necessary and they honestly believed that the rates, however high, were necessary to give them security. No Republican administration could have put this over on them. It could have been done only by a friendly administration which they trusted. And under the protection of that trust the administration slapped upon their pay envelopes and the payrolls of their bosses a tax which would have wrung from them for the next forty years a billion dollars a year more than they would get back in old-age benefits. The workers have now been relieved of this load and they owe no thanks to their leaders for their deliverance.

Those gentlemen in Washington who think that less government spending will help business are moved, I am sure, by a mistaken notion that business is all ready for a boom and needs only this encouragement to set it in motion. But the facts are that the signs from the business skies are far from pleasant.

The most important business indices have been moving down now for nearly four months. This kind of thing does not get much publicity. Frequently while all the reliable indices of business activity are moving down quietly in the obscure columns of the back of the paper, certain stuffed shirts are proclaiming the coming of happy days in big type on the front pages.

As for the indices which forecast the coming character of business, they are even more disturbing. Private investment is perhaps at or near the lowest point it has reached during the depression. Bank loans continue to hover around the levels of 1933 and security issues are so slight as to be almost nonexistent. There is a little house building but not enough really to be important. There is nothing to keep the business curve up to its present level but government spending, and if that is stopped or cut—however unwholesome it may be as a permanent policy—the bottom will drop out of business.

In the meantime neither government nor business gives the slightest attention to the factors which hold up investment and make the depression a continuous guest. The President says he has no more plans. Business says the only plans it has are to be left alone and to cut taxes. Therefore both parties upon whom the nation relies to lead it have practically abdicated all effort to make our dilapidated eco-

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A Play, a Picture

"THE LITTLE FOXES" makes a sure-fire play of its kind, and in general a satisfying evening for those who do not recall family favorites like "The Cowpon Bonds" too insistently. In its story the bad characters of a Southern family work out their dog-eat-dog plans of aggrandizement for all to see; the good members gradually reveal to themselves and the audience the depth of evil in these actions. The sister is a kind of single-handed Lady Macbeth and the major reference is to the shift of Northern mills into quieter regions of cheap labor. But the addition of certain topical or regional or "advanced" lines of treatment cannot make simple melodrama something else, and having started many actions without finishing any in result, the play ends when its time is up, irresolute but aiming to please.

That it does please is partly owing to our old delight in seeing something happen, partly to the theatre craft with which an idea is conceived and got over for its effect here. In addition to the balancings of family power there are denunciations, embezzlement, threats and a near murder. The helpless sister-in-law Birdie hates the shootin of harmless creatures and is a secret drunkard, and her tipsy confesional is a fine stroke of devising. Her half-wit dandy of a son is a good foil on the other side.

There is truth in what Miss Hellman says, and subtlety here and there, shrewd lines well phrased. And for the right kind of stage imagination you could study the heightening effect of the quarrel off-stage, becoming terrible because the man is dying; or the absurd music of the piano falling over this harsh striving; or the place, in the threatful boasting about cheap labor and no trouble, where the Negro butler silently closes the doors in back.

""The Little Foxes" is a beautiful example of stage economy, a little too beautiful. They get by with one set, a cast of ten and a wheelchair; but while the central staircase, the offset breakfast room and two other doors allow the widest variety of action, the play has to be warped to bring out in general company certain dark schemings that could have happened only in bedrooms and the like—notably Lady Macbeth's priming of her daughter. And the price of a few plane fares from Hollywood would have provided them with enough solid bit-players so that the main action would not have had such risible suggestions of a backwater showboat. The two Negro servants are effective in their few moments and a medal is hereby awarded Dan Duryea for his idiot's whimperings and swagger. But with one exception the rest fall between bombast and embarrassment. (Patricia Collinge plays her entire role with the fluttering intensity that becomes legitimate only in one three-minute spot, where she is good). The hero of the evening is really Frank Conroy, if only by the secure dignity with which he can walk or sit, or say yes or no without getting on a soapbox—by the feeling of confidence inspired, that he is really there and sound all the way through.

Tallulah Bankhead is there all right: as the evil female she holds the play around her. But she should not have been told of this, for it can do no more than aggravate her apparent conviction that acting is great according to how low a girl can go in the baritone register. That she is a lovely some time or other that the sense of real character begins to go to hell whenever an actor plays such phrases as "When did you change . . . your . . . mind?" in descending intervals like a Wagner trombone section, thinking to raise the emotional pitch somehow. Even in a part which allows her to dominate a play, she should not try to be Maurice Evans, and neither, I suppose, should Maurice Evans.

The steady interest and occasional flashes of this play suggest that it would do better with a better cast. But when you think it over, it becames clearer that thorough and intelligent acting would only make its inconclusiveness more the pity. Now it stands out clearly for what it is, an evening of diversion for those who come to see the strolling players, a thing of some keen edges and no point, a piece of stagecraft where opportunity never had to knock more than once on any door, and where opportunity was often yanked wholesale through the window.

Though having released nothing of true interest since motion pictures generally came of age, Sergey Eisenstein has somehow managed to keep the memory of his importance green, and so his new film, regarded from one angle, is an event.

"Alexander Nevsky" is a straight historical picture—apart from occasional strains of what I believe used to be called jingoism, or saber-rattling. Thirteenth-century Russia. From the ill organized and war-torn country, now being invaded by Teutonic bands, a leader comes to marshal armed forces and even peasants in a battle that is decisive, a complete rout. The situation and feudal period are established and the battle is drawn; the balance of the film is taken up with the rivalry in love of two military oafs and occasional references to the sententious but valiant armorer, the fighting orphan girl, etc.

That is all the story, and though comparatively simple it is long in the telling, because each attitude, point and symbol hangs on like a drowning man. As to how the thing is done, I can't report justly so long as it is possible that shortage of material and technicians is responsible for this wheezy sound and this cheesecloth scenery (I can however make a better galloping horse with a pair of chopsticks on a pincushion, and guarantee that if the best close-up you can get of a knight on horseback is by putting a man in a rocking chair with a champagne bucket over his head, you would do best to skip the close-up). The mass action is exciting, if confused and clumsily intercut; the Prokofiev background music is impressive; but the actors are either not capable of making or not encouraged to make the character interest much higher than zero.

Except for two or three spots where the motion broke clear of its awkward wits and unconvincing rubber-ax work, and ran like water or poetry—the troops going up a rise of ground, horseman converging below the camera and streaming across its focus—the few outstanding things of this film could have been done in stills: Tisse's dark composition, the details and implements, the faces. Far from being the thumping great film people come to expect of a thumping name, "Alexander Nevsky" is way behind the good Soviet (and how many other) films of the last five years, in conception, story, pace and vital meaning. Its effect is something like that of Max Reinhardt making "Adrift

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The Bandwagon

Meanwhile the foreign affairs committee of the (French) Chamber of Deputies approved a pledge to the people of Czecho-Slovakia that they will "not perish" and that Germany's "injustice and violence will last but a short while." – *News story in The Washington Post, on the day after the absorption of Czecho-Slovakia by Germany.*

DID YOU THINK THE RECENT ICE STORM WAS BAD?
You Haven't Seen Anything Until
You Have Seen and Heard
FATHER HUBBARD

– *A half-page advertisement in The Michigan Daily, Ann Arbor, Michigan.*

Dr. Goebbels added that "talk about humanitarianism and morals is simply disgusting to us. . . . For us Nazis, these arguments no longer have any appeal, since we long ago ceased believing in them." – *From The New York Times.*

But Goebbels Names the Sports

Germany for Perfect Pleasure and Sparkling Sport.

Name your sports, name your pleasures . . . find them all in a historic Germany! – *From an advertisement of the German Railroads Information Office, printed in The New York Sun.*

The All-American Sweepstakes

Now, with the National Youth Administration to give citizens a start in life, the wage-and-hours act to keep their pay up, the National Labor Relations Board to help keep them from getting fired, relief to provide for them if they lose their jobs, and social security to take care of them in their old age, Americans may well turn increasingly to gambling as an outlet for what risk-taking impulses they have left. – *From an article in Life.*

When a Fellow Needs a Book

Rumania . . . pushed preliminary negotiations for the granting of autonomy to her Germanic and Hungarian minorities.

Simon & Schuster have completed arrangements for a Rumanian edition of Dale Carnegie's "How to Win Friends and Influence People." – *News items from the same day's issue of The New York Times.*

Cold-Comfort Department

If you're not a sheer delight when you climb into bed tonight, it's not Macy's fault. – *From an advertisement for the Lingerie Department of Macy's, New York City.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column and $1 will be paid for each item used. Address The Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

The "Mein Kampf" Kampf

SIR: Your recent editorial [March 22] on the two American editions of "Mein Kampf" contains a number of misleading statements:

1. The impression that Stackpole Sons' challenge of Hitler's copyright, based on the fact that he is "stateless," will endanger the rights of exiled German and Spanish writers is a completely untrue one, fostered by Reynal and Hitchcock in their advertising. In reply, our attorney, Philip Wittenberg, acknowledged expert in copyright, points out that Section 8 of the Copyright Law permits non-resident aliens, citizens or subjects of foreign countries to obtain copyright in the United States, but that Hitler was not such a subject and that he was "stateless" by his own pronouncement. This one man without a country by his own act could not claim the benefit of international treaties, but there is no doubt that the courts will honor the copyright of those eminent refugees regarding whom this question has been raised.

2. It is not true that both editions have guaranteed profits to refugees. The Stackpole edition will pay royalties to refugees which would otherwise have been paid to Hitler. Reynal and Hitchcock have announced merely that they will give profits to refugees *after legitimate expenses are deducted*. I think it ought to be pointed out that "legitimate expenses" may include the large costs of the legal case they have instituted in order to protect an allegedly exclusive interest in the book, as well as Mifflin edition was planned before the Stackpole Sons announcement of the first, unexpurgated edition, but it should be pointed out that their allegedly authorized edition is published under the same contract by which the abridged and bowdlerized edition, which was approved by the German Embassy in London before publication, appeared.

I agree with you in your suggestion that the discussions on rival editions of "Mein Kampf" are as full of propaganda as the book itself, but I think you have contributed a good deal to that propaganda in your own editorial summary.

New York City WILLIAM SOSKIN

Replying to Mr. Soskin's points in order:

1. We can hardly accept the opinion of counsel for one litigant in a pending case as final. To us, Mr. Wittenberg's opinion is unconvincing, since many authors are now "stateless." The final decision rests with the courts, and until they decide, doubt will exist.

2. We wrote: "Stackpole are paying an equivalent of royalty, but not profits, to refugees." We also wrote: "Reynal and Hitchcock are turning over part of their profits to refugees." The latter firm has just announced that $20,000 is already assured for this purpose.

3. We do not understand the purpose of this paragraph, unless it is intended to make people think that the Reynal and Hitchcock edition is expurgated or is not translated from the first German edition, or that the Stackpole edition was the first

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John Dewey as Political Philosopher

SIR: John Dewey's role in philosophy has been said to be as revolutionary as that of Copernicus in astronomy; Professor C. E. Ayres [The New Republic, January 18] compares Dewey to Darwin. There is doubtless much justification for these parallels, yet I believe the picture they suggest is incomplete. Our philosophic tradition has had no severer critic than Dewey. He completely rejects the pretensions of the older philosophy to a superior method which revealed a super-mundane reality, and insists that philosophy take its method from science and its problems from life. But it seems to me that the boldness and revolutionary character of Dewey's philosophical thinking contrast strangely with the mildness of his political pronouncements. Philosophy will be lost, says Dewey, unless it can "bring to consciousness America's own needs and its own implicit principle of successful action" and, "Philosophy recovers itself when it ceases to be a device for dealing with the problems of philosophy and becomes a method, cultivated by philosophers, for dealing with the problems of men." These are brave words but I have never been able to escape the wish that when Dewey finished that sentence, he had turned his back forever on the halls of professional philosophy, and fared forth, like Socrates to the agora and the assembly, to the marts and legislative halls of men. Only in this way could the logic of his premises have received fulfilment; only among men could his political philosophy have found the nourishment required to bring it to maturity. Plato's final demand in the education of his philosopher-kings was that they spend fifteen years in the world of men.

Dewey's philosophy, more than any other with which I am acquainted, demands by its own inherent logic an outlet in action and application. Professor Ayers says that Dewey "closed the abyss between thought and things." But it is well to remember that this "closing the abyss" occurred within the confines of epistemology, for nowhere else did that Cartesian gulf exist. Professor Barnes calls Dewey "the greatest political philosopher in the world." Whatever truth there may be in such an assertion is but a sad commentary on Dewey's colleagues. To me, Dewey's understanding of the problems of philosophy amounts to genius; his understanding of political problems is only commonplace. For the world's "greatest political philosopher," many of his political decisions seem strangely inept and mediocre: a lukewarm attitude during the World War; a vote for Al Smith; a declaration, made a year before Roosevelt's election, that to hope for anything from either of the old parties was "infantile"—coupled with a call to those who have "vision and sympathy" to form a third political party whose "backbone" was to be the middle class; and more recently, but with continued innocence, standing as the defender of Trotsky: in general, the espousal of a dated, middle-class liberalism, and the naïve notion that our turbulent society will have successful issue when impregnated with the methods of science and technology.

In political matters, I do not believe that Dewey ever overcame that "tragic division of theory and practice" against which he has so frequently inveighed. I am quite fully aware that a hundred sentences could be found in Dewey's writings apparently to refute that statement. But I stick to my point. Professor Edman has called Dewey "the shrewdest of dialecticians"; and I doubt if any criticism could be expressed of Dewey to which plausible retort could not be made by quotation from his published works. But it is my considered opinion, in spite of much loose comment to the contrary, that the tap roots of Dewey's philosophy trace back to the traditional philosophies and to modern science, but that they do not go down into the soil of American society. Dewey at seventy-two wrote that he had reached "something like political maturity." But cal maturity he states that he has had no "practical experience with politics." By Dewey's own logic, this is no less than a contradiction in terms; by his own logic, a vital and effective political philosophy must be a growth which springs from the furrows of our political life to meet the people's needs.

Oakland, Calif. MARK STONE

Style Sheet

SIR:

AF of L
Looks like hell.
Don't you know
CIO
Ought to go
C of IO?
Why you love
That measly of
In AF of L
I can't tell.

Cambridge, Mass. CHARLES H. BENNETT

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Angela Mesa of Philadelphia asks if there is no one to help the Spanish refugees. The answer is, yes, there is. Several agencies here in the United States are working hard at the problem. One of the best of these is the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City. . . . William Zeuch of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, endorses, as a practical method of improving cultural relations between the United States and Latin America, the foundation of a bi-lingual University of the Americas at Panama. . . . John Switalski of Berwyn, Illinois, has high praise for Rexford Tugwell's article, "Veblen and 'Business Enterprise'" (March 29), and wishes that The New Republic would spend more space discussing Veblen and less discussing Marx.

Donald J. Colen of Great Neck, Long Island, writes about our editorials on the "stand" of the European "democracies" against Hitler. "Why not point out that the policies of those nations (France and England) can never be understood completely unless we take into consideration the fact that all nations are at best 'flattering foes'; rarely, 'faithful friends.' England certainly would not hesitate to embroil us in a general European conflict were her colonial empire at stake. The same is applicable to France." . . . Ermal H. Hansen of Chicago challenges John Chamberlain's statement (March 29) that "Today there is no such thing as a united international capitalist class." Mr. Hansen thinks Mr. Chamberlain picked out an unfair example—agriculture—to illustrate that finance capital no longer operates internationally. "If, instead, an example were given in petroleum or steel or cotton manufacture, Mr. Chamberlain's conclusions might be far different."

Emory Holloway of Queens College, Flushing, New York, invites Walt Whitman collectors and admirers to assist in creating a great Whitman collection in the youngest of the city colleges, Queens. Photographs, autographs, letters, manuscripts, etc.—all will be appreciated. . . . A group of writers belonging to a WPA Adult Education class are planning to publish a quarterly magazine of high-quality verse to be known as The Tramp. The subscription price will be one dollar per year and the first issue will appear, they hope, June 1. They want poetry which will be, in the words of Herbert Palmer, "sensuous and impassioned, making experience completely alive." They cannot pay for manuscripts but are offering an annual prize of $25 to the writer of the best poetry who has not yet published a volume of verse. The address is The Tramp, a Magazine of P

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Books in Review

Lloyd George Writes History

THE LATEST Lloyd George memoirs[1] are a lawyer's brief masquerading as impartial and documented history. He has a personal case to establish, that the treaties negotiated at Paris were just and wise, in full accord with Wilson's Fourteen Points, and that Lloyd George himself, more than Wilson, deserves the credit. He attacks with all his old-time pungency and pugnacity—the personal sketches are always vivid and frequently devastating—and he strews his pages with valuable records of Imperial War Cabinet meetings and sessions of the Supreme Council.

The second of the two volumes is more of a record and less of a tract, for it deals with all the non-German treaties, with which Lloyd George had much less to do than with the Treaty of Versailles. One chapter devoted to "Italian Claims" includes the full minutes of the Fiume dispute. Even in the first-volume account of the German treaty, Lloyd George can let the record speak for itself when it speaks for him—as it undoubtedly does on many of the territorial questions, notably those affecting Poland.

It is his attempts to improve upon the record that get him into difficulties. His efforts to prove a complete identity between the war aims of the United States and Great Britain, his denial that there was ever any conflict of principle between Wilson and himself, amount to sleight-of-hand of the most elementary sort. The "House Papers" years ago revealed the disposition of Lloyd George and Clemenceau to throw over Wilson's Fourteen Points entirely, and House had to cable Wilson for authorization to threaten them with a separate German-American peace. Lloyd George quotes part of the minutes, omits the rest and dismisses the whole incident with the complaint that "Even Colonel House, who knew better what actually happened than outside critics, sought to foster that false impression."

Lloyd George had the best of reasons for trying to escape commitment to Wilson's principles on war indemnity, for the Fourteen Points in letter and spirit precluded any demand on Germany for indemnity to cover the cost of the War, while the British public clamored for every penny of what the War had cost them. Lloyd George's attempts to solve that dilemma led him into the most devious and dishonest tactics and finally produced the one really iniquitous element in the Treaty of Versailles. His own text betrays his guilt. There is contradiction not only between his commentary and the contemporary records which he cites, but between different parts of his own commentary. Consider the following samples:

> The Wilson declarations covered compensation for all personal injuries sustained through enemy action. This satisfied the Allies, *who had no intention of putting forward any demand which would include the costs of the War.* [Page 441; my italics.]
>
> . . . we propose to demand *the whole cost of the War.* [Speech to electors in Bristol, December, 1918, page 309.]
>
> . . . unless President Wilson was prepared to pool the whole cost of the War, and for the United States to take its share of the whole, he was not in a position to reject *our claims for indemnity.* [Minutes of Imperial War Cabinet, December, 1918, page 319.]
>
> On the general principle of reparation, all the memoranda [at the Peace Conference] except the American claimed that reparation *should cover the whole of the damage caused by the War.* [Page 323.]
>
> I was definitely of the opinion that we were committed by the Armistice terms not to demand an indemnity *that would include the cost of the War.* [Page 325.]

In other words the American delegation had finally managed to hold him to his pledge. His subsequent behavior can only be described as an attempt to destroy the spirit of that pledge while adhering to the letter. The American delegation proposed at least two concrete schemes for confining German liability not merely to the letter of the agreement, but to a reasonable estimate of Germany's capacity for payment. Lloyd George, after preliminary agreement, wrecked them both—from fear of English public opinion. The result was a reparation settlement that has been universally condemned by economists, moralists and by the verdict of history itself. Lloyd George omits the record of his own maneuvers and praises the settlement as both just and wise.

Is it any wonder that Wilson exploded when Lloyd George in June, 1919, proposed modifications of the treaty, for fear that Germany might not sign? The American records reveal that such behavior made Wilson "sick and tired." That the man who had been chiefly responsible for defeating the American proposals for a reasonable solution of the reparation question should now advocate revision of that and other treaty terms out of sheer funk was intolerable. Wilson nevertheless agreed, only to be thwarted a final time by Lloyd George's failure to come to terms with American experts on a fixed sum of reasonable size.

In Lloyd George's account his own efforts to modify the treaty were statesmanlike, and Wilson's attitude was both petty and rigid. And that is characteristic of his treatment of the relations between Wilson and himself at the Peace Conference. While professing the warmest admiration and affection for Wilson personally, his real contempt for Wilson is scarcely disguised. By such tactics Lloyd George can take to himself—at Wilson's expense—most of the credit for the more idealistic portions of the Versailles Treaty, such as the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization.

It is in the same spirit that Lloyd George treats the relations of Wilson and House, to belittle them both. There is already abundant evidence to convict House of a dangerous tendency to compromise with the opponents of Wilsonian principles. It is clear that both the French and Italians flattered him by praising his diplomatic gifts and

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son's obstinacy. Tardieu certainly obtained his support for the French proposal to take the whole Rhineland area away from Germany, and it also appears that House put pressure on certain American experts to make recommendations favorable to Italian claims in Fiume. There is also evidence that Lloyd George himself was not above resort to the same tactics, particularly in the matter of the colonial claims of the British Dominions. I have always thought that here was the real reason for the personal break between House and Wilson, and that hypothesis is supported by the revelations in the present volumes.

Having destroyed Wilson by imputations of pettiness, Lloyd George goes on to finish off House as well. As this passage from the English edition of the book is suppressed in the American edition, it deserves quotation in full:

It would have been better for House's reputation had he left matters there, when sympathy would have been entirely with him. Instead of doing so he dealt a foul blow at a stricken man by publishing without Wilson's consent confidential letters which had passed between them. There was an obvious intent to "show Wilson up." It was always a suggestion of the feline about Colonel House's movements. But he was always such a friendly cat. He relates with a reminiscent purr how delighted he was when Clemenceau stroked him on the back and muttered pleasant things to him. That old savage could occasionally cajole and caress when he was bent on persuasion. And to win over House was one way of taming Wilson. House became as much Clemenceau's man as he had been and was still Wilson's. But the friendliest of cats have their claws. Even Wilson's enemies—and he had a multitude—were shocked at the treachery of the scratch and the moment chosen for the deed. Whilst they did not hesitate to make political capital out of the revelations they felt that this betrayal of intimate communications shook the temple of friendship to its foundations. House's chagrin had overcome his sense of honor.

Lloyd George is not even a friendly cat.

One can certainly agree with Lloyd George that criticism of the treaties has been very much overdone. It used to be fashionable to condemn the Polish Corridor and the Upper Silesian award, but if Hitler himself seems content, why should we complain today? We have also been reminded by Wheeler-Bennett that Ludendorff planned a Brest-Litovsk for western Europe that would have made even Clemenceau and Foch seem like amateurs in *Machtpolitik*. Undoubtedly both Wilson and Lloyd George deserve equal credit for restraining traditional French national policy in its drive to shatter any strong national state in Central Europe. That drive involved the destruction of the political fabric of the Reich by a program of "federalization," the partition of German territory—Rhineland in the west and maximum Polish areas in the east, veto on Anschluss with German Austria. If Lloyd George can claim more credit than Wilson for restraining French rapacity on Poland's behalf, Wilson stood alone in blocking French direct control of the Saar. His plan for a neutral League commission and a plebiscite has been justified by the event. Both gave in on Anschluss, both blocked the separation of the Rhineland from Germany. Wilson will still be credited with the League, and Lloyd George will continue to bear the stigma of the reparation settlement, which in my opinion was the worst feature of the Treaty of Versailles

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by Leslie J. Harris, Sc.D., D.Sc.
Nutritional Laboratory, University of Cambridge and Medical Research Council.

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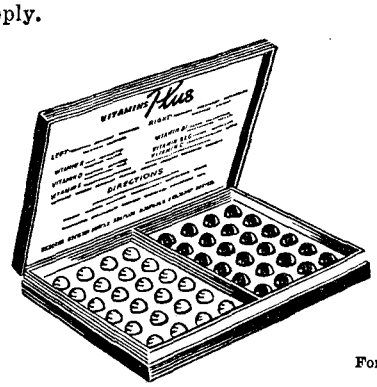

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The Land That Is No More

North of the Danube, by Erskine Caldwell, with Photographs by Margaret Bourke-White. New York: The Viking Press. 136 pages. $3.

THIS IS A TRAVEL BOOK. The text is by Erskine Caldwell and the photographs by Margaret Bourke-White. The subject is Czecho-Slovakia as it was in the pre-Munich days, with catastrophe shadowing land and people. It is a thin book with comparatively little text—eight short sketches (there should have been twice as many)—and with not too many photographs.

Yet it is one of the most extraordinary travel books I have ever read. Author and photographer wander at will in city and village, in Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia, Ruthenia, and they record only those scenes and experiences which have inner meaning. Caldwell writes entirely in terms of symbols. Consider the titles of some of the chapters: "The *Roads* of Uzhorod," "*Bread* in Uzok," "*Dogs* in Ceske Budejvice." By means of these symbols the author unfolds, with a striking economy of words, now a drama, now an epoch, now a mood and now, as in the opening chapter, a sweeping panorama of things and people. The purely Slavic flavor of his conversations with peasants, especially the Ruthenians (who are as magnificent in their eloquence as are Russian peasants) eludes Caldwell. But he never fails to perceive the inner meaning of their words or their lives.

The chapter on "Peace in Brno," in the light of Hitler's recent seizure of Bohemia and Moravia, is especially significant. Brno is the capital of Moravia. Caldwell found it an attractive and humane city, with Czechs, Germans, Jews, living in peace with one another and giving generously toward the support of the refugees that had come from Austria and Germany. Left to itself Brno, as well as all Czecho-Slovakia, would have been an example to the rest of the world of racial amity and religious tolerance. Now, with the swastika flying over it, the place has already become a citadel of savagery. The group of brilliant writers who published the Brno Lidovy Noviny, one of the most famous newspapers in Europe and often spoken of as Czecho-Slovakia's Manchester Guardian, has been broken up and several of them have already been sent to concentration camps. The photographs are even more impressive than the text. They reveal more of the lyric of Czecho-Slovakia as it was and more of the tragedy of the country as it is now. Consider the photographs bearing the inscriptions, "The Hungarian Boss and Slovak Peasants," "Hungarian Landlord at Ease" and "Field Workers' Dormitory." Here you have the medievalism of Hungarian civilization boldly and unforgettably depicted. This of course is not the civilization of Budapest, with its brilliant cafés, its gay night clubs, its social swank. This is the Hungary that Budapest seldom sees but which supplies the nutriment that goes into its glitter and swank. Here side-by-side with the swagger, the self-confidence, the charm and the brutality of the work-hating Hungarian nobleman, are the misery and degradation of the toiling Slav peasantry. The Czecho-Slovak republic had effectively undermined the powers and prerogatives of the Hungarian landlord. It had brought to Slovakia and the peasantry there had never known. Munich has smashed it all, and now the Hungarian nobleman is once more enthroning serfdom over all Ruthenia and a part of Slovakia. In the above-mentioned photographs Miss Bourke-White has caught all the drama and pathos of an aspect of the Munich agreement and its aftermath which no journalist has as yet bothered to record.

MAURICE HINDUS

The Swastika in Vermont

Seasoned Timber, by Dorothy Canfield. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

THE APPEARANCE of an anti-Fascist novel by Dorothy Canfield may serve to remind us of several things: that she has never hesitated to use her novels to tell her readers what she thought, and that she has known how to make them like it; that, though critics may not linger over her work, she has sound talent; and that she is as courageous as she is honest. "Seasoned Timber" is only a somewhat better than middling novel, but it is a book that most of the young radicals ought to take off their hats to. When their conviction rises as naturally from the people and events they write about as Miss Canfield's does from the Vermont life she describes, they can afford to laugh at her occasional sentimentality.

"Seasoned Timber" is the story of forty-five-year-old Timothy Hulme, principal of Clifford Academy, who falls in love with a young teacher and loses her to his nephew. Miss Canfield tells us, sometimes in tedious detail, of his hesitancies, his harrowing raptures, his jealousy and his struggle to accept what cannot be helped. She also tells us of his work as a teacher, and all her own interest in pedagogy goes into the account of his methods and his plans. In the background are the people of a Vermont village, their virtues rather accentuated perhaps but real enough to make her version of their lives at least as truthful as the cynic's.

Yet there would not be much to say of the book if the author had not put into it her hatred of fascism. A wealthy trustee leaves the academy a million dollars on condition that Jews are excluded. Hulme, seeing the first thrust of fascism, leads the fight to persuade the voters of the town to reject the bequest. This struggle, though it is not the principal theme of the book, gives it its distinctive quality. None of Timothy's agonies over Susan touches the reader as he is touched when Jules, a Jew from New York who has found happiness in the school, offers to leave it.

Miss Canfield stands firmly on a venerable Vermont tradition of belief in freedom and fair play, but she knows that you cannot hope to overcome fascism with phrases. Inadequate though her suggestion of the coöperative movement as an alternative to predatory capitalism may be, the fact that she makes it proves her thoughtful as well as militant. There is in her book almost none of the kind of smugness that kills the democracy it pretends to praise, for she knows that only a functioning, progressive democracy can defend us against barbaric reaction. She knows, too, that this is the best of American traditions, and her achieve-

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Dorothy Richardson

Pilgrimage, by Dorothy M. Richardson. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 4 vols. $10 (or $3 per volume).

IT TOOK DOROTHY RICHARDSON twenty-five years to complete "Pilgrimage." She began the first volume or "chapter" in 1913, and it was published two years later as "Pointed Roofs." This and subsequent parts of the novel, coming out at unpredictable intervals during and after the War, attracted a little band of readers who almost religiously followed the progress of the work, a task that of itself imposed some of the rigors and vigils of a quest. The twelfth and last section ("Dimple Hill") is printed for the first time in this complete edition, which also has a 1938 explanatory Foreword that announces the end of the journey. The appearance of this edition must have come as a surprise to those who had been watching Miss Richardson's work as closely as it was possible to do in recent years—the volumes were being issued less frequently in England and the latest ones were not being published in America. The world was changing violently, and literary trends and interests were changing with it. There was even a story that Miss Richardson had abandoned her work before it was finished. So this bold "complete set," newly printed, glowing with jacket testimonials by other authors, has the emphasis of a resurrection.

The designated end of "Pilgrimage" may not altogether kill the rumor that Miss Richardson had decided to give up her work before she could bring it to a conclusion. But no definite finale was ever promised, and the early volumes gave no hint of what is usually called "form" and provided no basis for it. Miss Richardson seems to have intended to do only what she has done. Her work has been noted for its revelation of essential feminine experience, which she presents as occurring in a flow that creates its own laws and its own form. (She thinks the phrase "stream of consciousness" inaccurate.) Her complete expression of the problems of femininity—femaleness would be a better term—reaches beyond technical matters; nor is it best realized in the obvious incidentals, chats about hats and drapes, rendering of woman's point of view, and so on. It is found most importantly in the consciousness of the seemingly autobiographical main character, Miriam Henderson. Miriam believes that the art in which women are superior is that of creating atmospheres, and she feels that as a woman she has a special vision: "Shakespeare did not know the meaning of the words and actions of Nerissa and Portia when they were alone together, the beauty they knew and felt and saw, holy beauty everywhere." This secret feeling of the radiance of everything is what keeps Miriam going through her commonplace days as a teacher, as a governess, as a dentist's secretary—and makes her series of inconclusive love affairs endurable.

But whether Miriam's story is worth two thousand pages and a quarter of a century's writing is a question for debate. For Miriam never develops. The reader gets a cumulative list of Miriam's traits and comes to know her moods and what knowledge she picks up, so Miriam becomes a "character," though never a very sympathetic one: she is intelligent (a feminist and a rather futile social

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nor heroic. And the other people in the story are only seen like the towns we pass in an express train; even though there are occasional brief stops we never get more than a hasty glimpse of their surface features. Miss Richardson evidently has a life-is-flux philosophy; it would have been more effective if presented in fewer books. "Pilgrimage" becomes tiresome to read because it takes up epic space without having epic design.

Miss Richardson's real talent, which is lyrical, enables her to evoke the spirit of pre-war London with exemplary skill. Now and then "Pilgrimage" has a green flash of country, and there is that dazzling excursion to Oberland which provides Miriam with a symbolic standard to judge the rest of life by, but mostly the novel has yesterday's London in it: nearly every page seems lit by the harsh gaslight of Bloomsbury lodging houses. "Pilgrimage" is superbly written, and can always be dipped into with pleasure, as if it were a good anthology of poems. But how much more we may say of Proust and Joyce, who at first seemed to be going in the same direction as Miss Richardson. Their work is similar to hers in several important respects: like her they are deeply responsive to atmospheres, like her they have experimented with consciousness-effects, and like her they have a sensitive autobiographical character who plays an important part in the story. But consider how much more Proust and Joyce have done by adding other characters, objectively conceived and drawn, and by establishing a background full enough for social understanding. Miss Richardson has not extended her work beyond the universe of the individual.

HARRY THORNTON MOORE

Macaulay the Politician

Lord Macaulay: Victorian Liberal, by Richmond Croom Beatty. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press. 403 pages. $3.

PROFESSOR BEATTY'S fine, precise analysis should lead to a little more active thinking on Macaulay. It is an invaluable supplement to the pious and ponderous official life by Trevelyan, and a corrective of all those glib studies—notably the last, Arthur Bryant's—that are chiefly essays in British patriotism, though some of them throw Macaulay to the wolves. Professor Beatty's chief service has been to restudy closely the aims and career of Macaulay the politician. He makes us feel that the politician was at least three-fourths of the man.

Macaulay belongs to that peculiarly British class of writing statesmen who were never more political-minded than when they turned from politics to literature. Like those of John Morley, and in our own age those of Winston Churchill, his writings were a justification, often a rationalization, of his political judgments. When he turned to the broad stream of English bourgeois liberalism in his "History," or sought the prototypes of classic action and the classic temper in his Roman lays, he was dramatizing the young bull of the Whigs who led the urban middle class of the thirties toward its definitive triumph.

With such a triumph his wisdom began and ended. Pro- the last stains of a Tory feudalism that was hopelessly, odorously, inefficient; but there may be another interpretation. The secret of Macaulay's character, like the clues to his weakness picked up by every investigator, lies in his profound and furiously concentrated class-consciousness. He was the perfect bourgeois in literature. With a nimbleness in debate and a bellowing voice that blew opponents down, he succeeded in claiming for the progress of his class the authority of all the hallowed moralities and precedents. That is why in retrospect Macaulay must always look a little cheap. He tried to do so much on so level a plane that he left himself wide open. Speaking always for others, he never showed any of the range and turn of an individual passion, a momentary weakness of belief, the slightest despair in an age of despair; and so he who obscured himself so well in his own time has illuminated himself for all time. For his values, at bottom, were the values of the commercial ledger; and with each fluctuation in those values the foundations of his passionate materialism fell apart.

The weaknesses of his writings have been always guessed at, and criticism of them has in a sense been exclusively personal. His sententiousness has cloaked his shrewdness, and his omissions his solid learning. But the man's center emerges when one looks at his Bunyan, and hears only a Salvation Army boomster; or in his James II, a fop whose greatest sin was improvidence.

ALFRED KAZIN

Population Problems

The Natural History of Population, by Raymond Pearl. New York: The Oxford University Press. 428 pages. $3.50.

MORE THAN HALF the total population of the world—approximately one billion people—is packed, at a density of 394 to the square mile, into one-twentieth of the world's land surface. At the other end of the scale, four-fifths of the land area contains less than one-fifth of the total population, at a density of only nine per square mile.

"Figures like these," comments Dr. Pearl, "breed wars"—not, he is careful to add, through any mysterious biological urge, but because of the vast political and economic inequities which they symbolize. Actually, the world density of population today is about that of the United States, or forty per square mile; and an annual rate of increase of one percent indicates that the fertility of the human species is slowly leveling off and may even, within a few generations, drop below the critical replacement figure.

Central in Dr. Pearl's discussion of these problems is an exhaustive analysis of what is happening to the American population, especially as regards birth control and contraceptive efforts. A detailed and severely critical investigation of 30,949 case records of women living in or near twenty-six cities in fifteen states does not support the assumption that "differential fertility" among economic, religious, racial or educational groups has a biological basis. The evidence does suggest, however, that the responsibility for these differentials "appears to rest primarily, overwhelmingly and directly upon that body of doctrine and practice popu-

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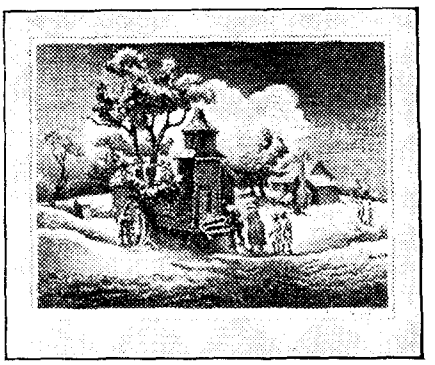

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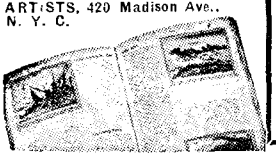

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to start any number of controversial fires—especially coming as it does from an internationally known authority on population problems who has long resented the extravagant claims of the birth-control advocates. HAROLD WARD

Canada's Foreign Policy

Canada Today, by Frank R. Scott. New York: The Oxford University Press. 175 pages. $1.25.

THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS delegated to Professor Scott of McGill University the task of preparing its principal paper for the British Commonwealth Relations Conference which was held at Sydney, Australia, in September; and its publication as a book for general circulation presents in brief compass an able summary of the factors which shape the Canadian government's attitude to foreign affairs. Interested Americans will have been made familiar with these factors by now, for a number of books have appeared on these lines during the last two years. Mr. Scott goes over the geographic and population hindrances to a national outlook, and presents the relevant economic statistics and comment; but he adds his more distinctive contribution in the political chapters. He makes it clearer than do other writers how slightly Canada is dependent upon British military and naval protection; how feasible under present circumstances is an autonomous policy; and how comprehensible yet how irritating is the Liberal government's evasiveness on the question of actual commitment in the event of war. GEORGE MC LURE

New Books: A Reader's List

OUR MAGINOT LINE, by Livingston Hartley (Carrick and Evans, $2.75). A long-range perspective of American foreign policy. Hitler's domination of Europe, followed by a drive for world power, would gravely endanger our security. The author presents a carefully thought-out program of collective defense.

SCHACHT, HITLER'S MAGICIAN, by Norbert Muhlen (Alliance Books, $3). Tells how Dr. Schacht, by extortion and fiscal prestidigitation, has fleeced the world out of some eighteen billion marks for the economic, political and military requirements of the Third Reich.

DESIGNS IN SCARLET, by Courtney Ryley Cooper (Little, Brown, $2.75). Flaming youth on the rampage; a graphic study of sexual excesses and general lawlessness among American adolescents. A crusading document, with palliative but constructive suggestions for interested official agencies and public opinion generally.

GEORGE SANTAYANA, by George W. Howgate (Pennsylvania U., $3.50). A lucid exposition of the development of Santayana's philosophy from "The Sense of Beauty" to the so-far unfinished "Four Realms of Being."

I TRAVEL BY TRAIN, by Rollo Walter Brown (Appleton-Century, $3). Not a plea for our bankrupt railroads, as you might guess from the title. Mr. Brown is a lecturer, and lecturers get around. His book is an informal excursion into social geography that gives you an experience of the

BITTER CREEK, by James Boyd (Scribner's, $2.50). A sturdy tale of cowboys in the Northwest around 1870. Mr. Boyd is an old hand at historical backgrounds, and he gives this one all the glamor it can hold. To add momentum, there are brawls with the Indians, a couple of snaky frontier villains and a delicate bit of romance.

EAST OF EDEN, by I. J. Singer, translated by Maurice Samuel (Knopf, $2.50). The hero here grows up hungry in a Polish village, turns Communist in Warsaw, is tortured in a German concentration camp and meets final disillusionment in Russia: all in all, a record of unrelieved suffering. Mr. Singer brings to life the Polish-Jewish background with clarity and understanding. He piles tragedy on pretty thick, though, to build a case against the Soviet.

SEVENTY TIMES SEVEN, by John Sanford (Knopf, $2). A first-rate story of violence and congealed hate in upstate New York. The fact that Mr. Sanford unwinds his plot by indirection gives him a chance to exhibit a variety of techniques, from the very tough to the frankly poetic, and makes its impact none the less terrific.

THE NIGHT IS COMING, by Marthedith Furnas (Harpers, $2.50). Miss Furnas wanted her heroine to typify the qualities that carved Big Business out of the unsophisticated Middle West. The heroine, of course, is successful in finance, and Miss Furnas is no less so with her purpose. A good first novel, written squarely and without frills.

WALLS RISE UP, by George Sessions Perry (Doubleday, Doran, $2). Three hoboes in a leisurely interval on the banks of the Brazos River. Hoboes generally make winning subjects and these are no exception. Their blend of hard-boiled tenderness and engaging insolence will remind you of "Tortilla Flat."

Contributors

VERA MICHELES DEAN is the research director and editor of the Foreign Policy Association publications. Her new book, "Europe in Retreat," was published in February.

REINHOLD HANISCH was a Bohemian German (Sudeten) but an Austrian citizen. He was arrested in Vienna in 1936, after it had become known that he had written his memoir of Hitler and was attempting to find a publisher. Three days later he died in prison.

WILLIAM STOKES is a Canadian journalist whose articles have appeared in the labor press of Canada and Europe.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES was the co-editor with M. J. Benardete of the anthology of Loyalist ballads, "And Spain Sings." He is translating the complete poems of García Lorca on a Guggenheim fellowship.

PAUL BIRDSALL is associate professor of History at Williams College.

MAURICE HINDUS, the author of numerous books about the Soviet Union, has written a biography of the Czech people, "We Shall Live Again." It will be published on May 5 by Doubleday, Doran.

GRANVILLE HICKS is writing a book on English literature during the last half-century. He is the author of "John Reed" and "The Great Tradition."

HARRY THORNTON MOORE has written a book about John Steinbeck and his work to be published this spring.

HAROLD WARD has written widely on his special interest, the social implications of science and technology.

ALFRED KAZIN is working on a critical history of American literature since 1890, for fall publication.

GEORGE MCLURE is a free-lance writer who lives in

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